

Ecclesiastical Memorials;

RELATING CHIEFLY TO

RELIGION,

AND ITS

REFORMATION,

UNDER THE REIGNS OF

KING HENRY VIII. KING EDWARD VI.

AND

QUEEN MARY THE FIRST:

WITH THE

APPENDIXES

CONTAINING

THE ORIGINAL PAPERS, RECORDS, &c.

In Seven Volumes,

BY JOHN STRYPE, M.A.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

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THE REIGN OF

KING EDWARD THE SIXTH.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR SAMUEL BAGSTER, No. 81, STRAND.

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* * The Original Records, Letters, &c. to illustrate and confirm these *Memorials*, may be found in the SIXTH volume of this Work, p 267 to the end.

MEMORIALS ECCLESIASTICAL,
&c. &c. &c.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

1537.

The birth and christening of Prince Edward. Queen Jane his mother's death and burial. The young prince's education.

THE incomparable Prince EDWARD (the subject of our ensuing history) was born on the 12th day of October, in the xxixth year of the reign of his father, King Henry VIII. at Hampton Court; and christened on the Monday following, being the 15th of the said month, at the chapel there. And an heir male being now happily given to the realm, after so many a long year's expectation, the christening was performed with the greater solemnity; which, since our historians are silent in, I shall set down at length. The infant prince was brought forth from his own lodgings, and conveyed through the council chamber into the gallery, leading through the king's great chamber, and so through the hall, and the second court into the gallery, that went into the chapel; torches all the way borne by the king's and other noblemen's servants; the way fenced with barriers (where no walls were) and richly hung, and underfoot strewed thick with rushes. At the chapel door was a large porch made, covered with rich cloth of gold, and double hanged with rich arras, the floor boarded and covered with carpets. All the body of the chancel hung also with rich arras; wherein was set a font of silver, and gilt, upon a mount or stage four degrees in height, eight square in compass, enclosed with double bar-

Prince Edward born; and christened. Ex Offic. Armor. I. 14.

The solemn manner thereof.

p. 2.

1537. riers made of timber, with two or three entrances, one to come in, another to pass to the traverse, a third to the altar. The said barriers were covered with red say, and tacked with small latten nails. The steps of the said mount were covered with carpets; and the barriers hanged with cloth of gold, or arras. Over the font a rich canopy. On the south side, a little from the mount, was prepared a traverse of damask sarcenet, or sattin, for making ready the prince to the christening; the same traverse underfoot was covered with carpets or cushions; and therein a firepan of coals with a good perfume; and basins and chavers of silver, and gilt, with water (whereof the says surely taken) to wash the prince, if need were. And all that time of the prince's opening, the bishops and godfathers (saving the lady godmother) remained under the canopy, there abiding the coming of the prince. The choir hung on both sides with arras, and the high altar garnished sumptuously with stuff and plate. On the south side of the altar a traverse of cloth of gold, covered underfoot with carpets, and furnished with cushions, and likewise the space between the font and the altar spread with carpets.

Gentlemen ushers kept the door of the porch, the chapel door, the entrances of the barriers about the font, and the traverse, with yeomen ushers to assist them. Sir John Russel, Sir Francis Brian, Sir Nicolas Carow, and Sir Anthony Brown, in aprons and towels, took the charge of the font, and kept the same till they were discharged thereof by the lord steward, or treasurer of the king's house in his absence. Other gentlemen ushers kept the choir door, and the traverse next the altar. The sergeant of the ewry was ready at the nursery door to deliver the basins, cup of assay, and towels, and to give his attendance at the chapel to receive the same after the christening was done. The sergeant of the chandlery was ready at the said chamber door to deliver the tapers. The sergeant of the pantry to deliver the salt: and they to be ready at the chapel to receive them again. The sergeants of the trumpets, with all

the company of that office, were ready with their trumpets, and stood and sounded as they were appointed by the lord chamberlain. Garter, principal king of arms, and all the other kings and officers at arms, gave their attendance with their coats of arms. Also the dean of the chapel and the choir gave their attendance to such service as to them appertained. The sergeant of the vestry prepared the font, and all things that to his office belonged. The Lord Marshal of England had his servants there, with tipstaves to execute their office. The knight marshal and his men gave their attendance, to do as the lord steward, or in his absence, as the treasurer and comptroller of the king's household should appoint. And all officers of the household were there to do their respective services.

1537.

Moreover, all estates, knights and gentlemen, had warnings by the king's letters to make their repair to the court, to do the service that to them should be appointed, whose names shall be set down hereafter. The like warnings had all sergeants at arms; and such of the king's chaplains as were thought meet to do service at that time.

p. 3.

The order of going from the prince's lodgings to the christening was thus: first, all gentlemen, esquires and knights, went two and two, every of them bearing a torch in his hand, not lighted till the prince was baptized. After them the children and ministers of the king's chapel, together with the dean, in their surplices and copes, going outward. Next them, the king's council, with the great lords spiritual and temporal. Next them, the comptroller and treasurer of the household. Then the queen's chamberlain, the king's chamberlain, and the lord high chamberlain of England in the midst. Next, ambassadors, and with them personages meet to accompany them. Then were carried a pair of covered basins, and a towel thereupon, with a cup of assay borne by the Earl of Sussex, supported by another lord. Next after, a taper of virgin's wax, borne by the Earl of Wiltshire, with a towel about his neck. After that, a salt of

1537. gold richly garnished with pearl and stone, borne by the Earl of Essex, with a towel about his neck. The chrysom richly garnished, borne by the Lady Elizabeth, the king's daughter, who, for her tender age, was carried by the Viscount Beauchamp, assisted by the Lord Morley. The Prince himself was carried by the Lady Marchioness of Exeter, assisted by the Duke of Suffolk, and the Lord Marquis her husband. The train of the Prince's robe was borne by the Earl of Arundel, and sustained by the Lord William Howard. The nurse went equally with him that supported the train, and with her the midwife. A rich canopy was borne over the Prince by Sir Edward Nevyl, Sir John Wallop, Mr. Richard Long, Mr. Thomas Seimer, Mr. Henry Knyvet, and Mr. Radcliff, gentlemen of the king's privy chamber. Torches of virgin-wax were borne about the canopy by Sir Humfrey Foster, Robert Tyrwit, George Harper, and Richard Southwel. Next after the canopy went the Lady Mary, the king's daughter, appointed for the lady godmother: her train was borne by the Lady Kingston. After the Lady Mary all other ladies of honour, and gentlewomen, in order after their degrees.

The
Prince's
name pro-
claimed by
Garter.

When the Prince was christened all the torches were lighted, and Garter, principal king at arms, proclaimed his name in this form following: "God of his infinite grace and goodness, give and grant good life and long, to the right high, excellent and noble prince, Prince Edward, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester, most dear, and most intyrelly beloved son to our most dread and gracious Lord King Henry VIII. Large, Large."

This being performed, the service following was done, while the Prince was making ready in the traverse. *Te Deum* was sung. Then first to the Lady Mary the Lord Williams gave the towel, the Lord Fitzwater bare the covered basins, and the Lord Mountague uncovered them. To the bishop that did administer, the Lord Butler bare the towel, the Lord Bray the basins, and the Lord Delaware uncovered

them. To the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke of Norfolk, godfathers to the Prince, the Lord Stourton bore the towel, and the Lord Wentworth gave the water. *Item*, For the serving the Lady Mary and the Lady Elizabeth with spices, wafers and wine, the Lord Hastings bore the cup to the Lady Mary, and the Lord Delaware another cup to the Lady Elizabeth. The Lord Dacre of the South bare the spice-plates to them both, the Lord Cobham the wafers, and the Lord Mountague uncovered the spice-plates. The bishop that administered was served with spice, wine, and wafers, by three of the ancient knights appointed by the lord chamberlain. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Norfolk, godfathers at the font, and the Duke of Suffolk, godfather at the confirmation, were served with like spices, wafers, and wine, by three knights, also by the lord chamberlain appointed. All other estates and gentlemen within the church and court, were served with spice and *hypocras*; and all others with bread and sweet wine.

1537.

p. 4.

This being done, the going home with the Prince was in the same manner as the coming out was, saving that the taper, the salt and the basins were there delivered. The gifts that were given by the gossips were carried in order: a cope of gold, given by the Lady Mary, was carried by the Earl of Essex; three great bowls and two great pots, silver and gilt, given by the archbishop, were carried by the Earl of Sussex: the same gifts with those of the archbishop's were carried next by the Earl of Wiltshire: the two great flaggons and two great pots, silver and gilt, given by the Duke of Suffolk, were carried by the Viscount Beauchamp. The Lady Elizabeth went with the Lady Mary her sister, and the Lady Herbert, of Troy, bore her train. After the king at arms had proclaimed the name of the Prince, the trumpets set in the outer court within the gate continually sounded, till the Prince was brought into the queen's chamber: and all other minstrels stood with the trumpets to do their office when they should be called.

The
Prince go-
ing home,
the cere-
monies
used.

1537. At the going of the Prince the chapel sang the service, and performed the ceremonies belonging, all the way. And this, at length, was the splendid procession of our young Prince's baptism.

The estates
and gentlemen
present.

To which I will add the names of all the estates and gentlemen summoned to be present, and give their attendance at the said baptism.

The Lord Chancellor, The Marquis of Exeter,
The Duke of Norfolk, The Lord Privy Seal.
The Duke of Suffolk,

The Earls of

Arundel, Oxon, Essex, Wilts, Sussex.

Viscount Beauchamp.

The Lords

Admiral,	Cobham,
Delaware,	Dacres of the South,
Sands,	William Howard,
Bray,	Mountjoy,
Montague,	Fitzwater,
Waintworth,	Hastings,
Stourton, [bury,	Butler,
Hungerford of Hetch-	Morley.

The Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Bishops of

London,	Rochester,	S. Asaph,
Lincoln,	Chichester,	Carlile.

The Abbots of

Westminster,	Waltham,	Stratford.
S. Albans,	Towerhil,	

Knights and Gentlemen.

Mr. Hennage,	Sir John Wallop,
Sir John Russel,	Richard Long,
Sir Francis Brian,	Thomas Seymer,
Sir Nicolas Carew,	Henry Knyvet,
Sir Thomas Cheyny,	Peter Meutas,
Sir Anthony Brown,	Sir Humfrey Foster,

George Harper,	Sir William Goryn,
John Welsborn,	Sir Edward Nevyl,
Roger Ratclif,	Sir John Dudley,
Anthony Knyvet,	Sir William Hault,
Robert Tyrwhyte,	Sir Edward Wotton,
Sir Humfrey Radclif,	Sir William Kemp,
Sir John St. Johns,	Sir Thomas Poynings,
Sir Thomas Rotheram,	John Norton,
John Williams,	Sir Richard Weston,
Rafe Verney,	Sir Richard Paige,
Sir William Essex,	Sir Giles Capel,
Sir Anth. Hungerford,	Sir John Rainsforth,
Sir William Burnden,	Sir Thomas Darcy,
Sir Walter Stonar,	Sir John St. Leger,
Sir John Brown,	Sir John Tyrrel,
Sir John Bourghchier,	William Sailiard,
Sir Edward Bainton,	Sir Christ. Willoughby,
Sir Henry Long,	Sir Richard Sands,
Sir William Kingston,	Sir George Somerset,
Sir John Bridges,	Sir Arthur Hopton,
Sir Nicolas Poynts,	Sir Anthony Wyngfield,
Sir Walter Denys,	Sir William Drury,
Anthony Kingston,	Edward Chamberlain,
Sir John St. Lo,	Richard Southwel,
Sir Hugh Poulet,	Sir Henry Parker,
Sir Giles Strangwais,	Sir Gryffith Dune,
Sir Thomas Arundel,	Sir Philip Butler,
Sir John Horsay,	Sir Robert Peyton,
Sir John Rogers,	Sir Giles Alyngton,
Sir William Poulet,	Thomas Meggis,
John Powlet,	Thomas Wrythesley,
Sir John Gage,	Richard Manors.

1537.
p. 5.

Churchmen.

The Dean of S. Stephens,		
The Archdeacon of Richmond,		
The Deans of Exeter, Windsor, Sarum.		
Dr. Bell,	Mr. Pate,	Dr. Skippe,
Dr. Thurlebe,	Dr. Wilson,	Dr. Day.
Dr. Turrit,		

1537.
His mother
dies.

Ex. Offic.
Armor.
I. 11.

The true
date of her
death.

p. 6.

Cott. Libr.
Nero, c. 10.
exempli-
fied in Full.
Eccl. Hist.
p. 224.

But all this joy and splendour soon received a sad check, by the death of the prince's mother, who deceased about twelve o'clock on Wednesday night, the 24th day of the same month of October, that is, twelve days after the prince's birth, as it is expressly set down in one of the manuscript volumes belonging to the Heralds' Office, where, under the particular date of each day are shewn the ceremonies done to that queen's corpse, from her death to her funerals and last interment. What credit is to be given to the aforesaid manuscript book, I leave to the readers, especially when in this particular it disagrees with all our common historians, as Fox, Stow, Hollingshed, the Lord Herbert, and others, that write she died on Sunday, the 14th day of October, two days after her delivery. But I suspect they borrowed one from another; and the first having mistaken, might soon draw on the rest, in a matter so easily to be slipt over. For some probability of the truth of this manuscript, in dating the queen's death ten days later than we commonly find it, it may be considered, that if she had died the fourteenth day, it is not likely there should have been such a great and splendid court, such feasting and triumph, such trumpets and musick sounding, at the christening of her son, the very next day after she was dead, and in the same house where she, the mother, lay a lifeless corpse; nor is it likely, that after the ceremonies were performed at the chapel, that the prince, with all his procession, should be brought into the queen's chamber, as he is said to be in the former relation. It is also to be considered, that this date of her death agrees well with the letter of the king's doctors to the council, concerning the queen's declining condition; and that her confessor had been with her, and was preparing to minister to her the holy unction, which supposes her near the point of death. And this letter was dated on Wednesday, at eight in the morning; on which day of the week, at night, our said manuscript assigns her death. Add also the excessive grief the king

took, and the real sadness that seized on all at her death, could not consist with the magnificence of the christening, as was related before, unless she were at that time alive, and that there were hopes of her; "Whose departure (as that book relates) was as heavy to the king as had been seen, or heard tell of, many years; yea, and likewise to all the states of this realm, and citizens, with the commons, great and small, as ever was for any queen."

1537.

And if this date of her death be true, it will serve against slanderous Saunders, and other papists, King Henry VIII. his mortal enemies, that labour all they can to bespatter his name and memory; I mean, to disarm them of one instance of his pretended cruelty, in appointing this his son to be cut out of his mother's womb: for if she lived twelve days after her delivery, this will sufficiently confute that spiteful tale.

The manuscript goes on in way of diary, beginning at the day of her death, that is, October 24, as it is there stated, viz. That immediately the king retyred to a solitary place, not to be spoken with, leaving some of his counsellors to take order about her burial. Then she was embowelled, and wax-chaundlers, and plumbers, and such others, did their office about her.

The grief
conceived
thereat.

And this was the work of Thursday, October 25.—The next day, being Friday the 26th, was provided in the chamber of presence something in manner of an herse, with twenty-four tapers standing aloft the majesty, garnished with pensils and other decencies. In the same chamber was an altar provided for mass to be said, richly appavelled with black, garnished with the cross, images, censers, and other ornaments; and daily masses said by her chaplains and others. This done, the corps was conveyed reverently from the place where she died, under the herse, covered with a rich pall of cloth of gold, and a cross set therupon; lights burning night and day with six torches, and the lights aforesaid upon the altar, all divine service-time. All ladies and gentlewomen put off their rich apparel, doing on them mourning habits, and white kerchiefs

Her burial.

1537. hanging over their heads and shoulders; there kneeling about the said herse all the service-time, in lamentable wise, at mass aforenoon, and at *Dirige* after. There was also a watch nightly during the time that the corps lay in the same chamber, and so continued till the last day of the said month of October.

On which day, being Wednesday, and the vigil of All Saints, the corps was removed between three and four of the clock in the afternoon, from the chamber to the chappel, in very great state and solemnity; the chappel coming up with the Bishop of Carlile, her almoner, who did execute in *pontificalibus*, assisted by the Bishop of Chichester, dean of the king's chapel, and the sub-dean; entring into the chamber where the corps lay, and there doing all such ceremonies thereto appertaining, as censuring, holy water, with *de profundis*. The solemnity in the chappel lasted day by day until the 12. day of November, being Monday, which was the day of removing the corps towards Windsor; which was don with all the pomp and majesty that could be.

p. 7.
The corps
carried
towards
Windsor.

The corps was put in the chair covered with a rich pall, and therupon the representation of the queen, in her robes of estate, with a rich crown of gold upon her head, all in her hair loose, a scepter of gold in her right hand, and on her fingers rings set with precious stones, and her neck richly adorned with gold and stones; and under the head a rich pillow of cloth of gold tissue: her shoes of cloth of gold, with hose and smock, and all other ornaments. The said chair drawn with six chariot-horses, trapt with black velvet; upon every horse four escutcheons of the king's arms and queen's, beaten in fine gold upon double sarcenet; and upon every horse's forehead a shaffron of the said arms. The Lady Mary, the king's daughter, was chief mourner, assisted on either hand by the Lord Clifford and the Lord Montague: her horse was trapped in black velvet. These great ladies following (their horses being trapped in black cloth), the Lady Frances, daughter to the Duke of Suffolk;

the Countesses of Oxford, Rutland Sussex, Bath, Southampton; and the Lady Margaret Howard: every of their footmen in demi-gowns, bare-headed. Then followed four other chairs, with ladies and gentlewomen sitting in them; and other ladies and gentlewomen riding in order after each. On the thirteenth day she was interred, and the solemnities were finished. 1537.

It redounded much to the praise of King Henry VIII. that he would have his children's minds well cultivated to knowledge and virtue, by the best education. And when this royal child was arrived to six years old, great care was taken to enter him now into learning, to qualify him for his high function to fall to him; a great point of which lay upon Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, both as he was his godfather, and the chief overseer of the church; whose welfare and peace he knew depended so much upon the wisdom and religion of the prince. And here was a subject fit, by the pains and discretion of able masters, to make a most accomplished man, and an absolute governor. For he was of a most towardly, apt, and good disposition; of a ready wit and great industry, as well as of most beautiful external features. William Thomas, one of the most learned men of these times, and afterwards one of the clerks of the council, gave this character of his person and conditions, when he was young, and scarce yet come to the crown: "If ye knew the towardness of that young prince, your hearts would melt to hear him named, and your stomach abhor the malice of them that would him ill: the beautifullest creature that liveth under the sun; the wittiest, the most amiable, and the gentlest thing of all the world. Such a spirit of capacity, learning the things taught him by his schoolmasters, that it is a wonder to hear say. And finally, he hath such a grace of posture and gesture in gravity, when he comes into a presence, that it should seem he were already a father, and yet

The prince's education.

His excellent parts.

Thomas's Pilgrim.

1537. passeth he not the age of ten years. A thing undoubtedly much rather to be seen than believed."

p. 8.
The
prince's in-
structors.

Epist.
Dedic. in
Ep. ad
Roman.

We have seen the child; now shew us the persons chosen out for the forming of this excellent piece of matter. And surely they were happily chosen, being both truly learned, sober, wise, and all favourers of the gospel. Sir Anthony Cook, Knight, famous for his five learned daughters, was one of them: to whom the great Doctor Peter Martyr, in an epistle from Zurich, professed, "That ever since he dwelt in England he bare a singular love to him, and no small and vulgar affection, as for his piety and learning, so for that worthy office which he faithfully, and with great renown, executed in the Christian state, in instructing EDWARD the most holy king, and most worthy to be loved." Another of his masters was Dr. Richard Cox, a very reverend divine, sometime moderator of the school of Eaton, afterwards Dean of Christ-Church, Oxon, and chancellor of that university. Who instructed him in Christian manners, as well as other learning. He had also for his teacher of the Latin and Greek tongues that most accomplished scholar, Sir John Cheke, Knight, once publick reader of Greek in Cambridge. Divers pretty letters of his writing, in Latin, remain, some in manuscript and some printed, which being writ when he was very young, shew what notable progress he made. One or two of these I shall insert here for a *specimen*, and the rather, because never yet printed: the one to the King his father, and the other to Queen Katharin Par, his mother-in-law. That to the king ran in this tenor:

The
prince's
Latin
epistle to
the king.
E. Bibli.
oth.
C.C.C.C.
D. No. 23.

"NON misi ad te literas tam sæpe quam vellem, nobilissime Rex et Pater charissime, quia audiui majestatem tuam perturbari negotiis bellicis contra Regem Franciæ. Etenim ante hoc tempus nolui scribere ad majestatem tuam, ne ullo tempore impedireris puerilibus illis literis meis. Sed nunc do literas ad majestatem tuam, cum propter officium,

tum propter amorem erga te meum; denique quia 1537.
Deus dicit, "Honora parentem:" postremò, nè ob
ullam causam putares me ingratum. Nullum enim
signum, nec ullum aliud tam indicat tibi mentem
meam absentis, sed cupientis admodum esse tecum,
ac literæ, quæ declarunt mentem meam tibi, quum
alia signa non declarant. Præterea, rogo majesta-
tem tuam, ut impertias mihi benedictionem tuam.
Deus, qui præbet omni carni cibum, tueatur ac servet
majestatem tuam. Vale, Rex nobilissime et Pater
observandissime. Hunsdoniæ, 4^{to}. Maij. An. 1546.

Filius observantissimus
Majestatis tuæ
Nobilissimo Regi patri meo. EDOARDUS Princeps."

This which follows seems to have been written the
same month and year, to Queen Katharin Par, his
dear mother-in-law, whom it appears he used fre-
quently to address with epistles.

"FORTASSE miraberis me tam sæpe ad te scribere, His Latin
idque tam brevi tempore, Regina nobilissima et Mater letter to
charissima, sed eadem ratione potes mirari me erga the queen.
te officium facere. Hoc autem nunc facio libentius, Vespasian
quia est mihi idoneus nuntius servus meus, et ideo F. 3.
non potui non dare ad te literas ad testificandum p. 9.
studium meum erga te. Optimè valeas, Regina nobi-
lissima. Hunsdoniæ, vigesimo quarto Maii.

Tibi obsequentissimus filius
Majestatis tuæ,
Illustrissimæ Reginæ matri EDOUARDUS Princeps."
meæ.

And as other masters attended on him for other He writes
tongues, so one John Belmain for the French: and in French
one of his French letters coming to hand at present, to his
wrote when he was little above nine years old, I will sister.
here expose to the view of the reader. Whereby
may be seen to what ripeness he had attained in that
language also, even in his childhood, and how hand-
somerly he was able to write his mind. And being

1546. writ to his sister the Lady Elizabeth, then but three years older, we may collect hence her proficiency, and her staidness too, at those years: taking upon her then to give her brother counsel to ply his learning; and lastly, his good-nature, promising to make her exhortation and example a spur to him.

Prince Edward to his sister, the Lady Elizabeth.

MSS.D.G.
Petyt,
Armig.

“PUISQUE vous a pleu me rescrire (treschere et bien aimée sœur) je vous remercie de bien bon cœur, et non seulement de vostre lettre, mais aussi de vostre bonne exhortation et exemple: laquelle, ainsy que j'espere, me servira d'esperon pour vous suivre en apprenant. Priant Dieu vous avoir en sa garde. De Titenhanger, 18 jour de Decembre, et l'an de nostre Seigneur, 1546.

Vostre frere,

EDOVARD Prince.”

This, by the date, appears to have been written but the month before his father's death, being now nine years and about two months old. He was now at Titenhanger; where, as also in some other places, in the pleasant healthful county of Hertfordshire, as Hunsdon, Hatfield, and Hertford, as also at Ampthil in Bedfordshire, the prince, for the most part, held his court, and had his education.

Other
letters of
the prince.

There be other epistles of this prince, that may be found printed in Fox, and in Dr. Fuller's Church History, and others remaining in Sir Simonds Dew's library, *manu sua scriptæ*, and divers others in private hands.

His tutors.
Cook.

His tutors were latewardly much detained at court, Cook (if I mistake not) being one of the bedchamber, and Cox the king's chaplain: but Cheke did most constantly reside with him. Yet they supplied their absence by wholesome counsels and instructions conveyed to him by their letters. One from Cox, Dr. Haddon, a fellow of King's College in Cambridge, brought, in his return home, the prince being then at

Cox.

Hertford. He delivered it to Cheke, and Cheke to the prince. Into whose presence he introduced the said Haddon. To whom he spake two or three words, *suaviter et per benigne*, as (Haddon reported to some of his friends) *after a sweet and very obliging manner*; such was his mild and affable address.

1546.
Cheke.

p. 10.

And as he had these learned men for his tutors, of the same endowments were his chaplains: of whom were these two, Giles Aire and Tong in houshold with him. The former of whom was afterwards Dean of Chichester, and Prebendary of Winchester and Westminster, and died anno 1551.

His chap-
lains.

CHAP. II.

King Henry's departure. Young King Edward's governors and council. He is proclaimed: and comes to the Tower. New commissions to the justices. The Duke of Somerset Protector. The war with Scotland: and victory obtained.

WHILE King Henry lay on his death-bed in his palace at Westminster, Sir Edward Seimour, Earl of Hertford, and Sir William Paget, among others, were at court; and Paget being secretary of state, was much about his person. Whom, being a man wise and learned, and well versed in the affairs of state, both by reason of his office and his several embassies abroad, the earl prudently made choice of for his inward friend and counsellor. By the king's desperate condition, the earl, well perceiving the crown ready to fall upon Prince Edward his nephew's head, before the breath was out of his body, took a walk with Paget in the gallery: where he held some serious conference with him concerning the government. And immediately after the king was departed they met again, the earl devising with him concerning the high place he was to hold, being the next of kin to the young king. Paget at both meetings freely and at large gave him his advice, for the safe managery of himself, and of the mighty trust likely to be re-

Confer-
ences be-
tween the
Earl of
Hertford
and Secre-
tary Paget
upon King
Henry's
death.

1546. posed in him. And the earl then promised him to follow his counsils in all his proceedings, more than any other man's. To his failure in which promises the said secretary attributed those miseries which afterwards befel the nation and himself; as he plainly told him in one of his letters.

King
Henry's
funerals.

The king then departed this world on the Friday before Candlemas Day, being the 28th day of January: and was buried in a most magnificent manner, Feb. 15, at Windsor. His corps remained in his privy chamber five days, covered with a rich pall of cloth of gold, and an altar set up at his feet, where services, obsequies, and oraisons were used night and day, with thirty persons of the gentlemen of his privy chamber, besides his chaplains, always about him. On Wednesday, Feb. 2, being Candlemas Day, in the night, the royal corps was removed, with great reverence and ceremony, into the chappel. And there it abode twelve days, with services, masses, and dirges said daily morning and even. The 14th day the corps was conducted in all imaginable solemn state from Westminster towards Windsor, resting that night at Sion, and the next day was brought to Windsor. A particular account of all the solemnity of this funeral may be found in a volume in the Herald's Office; and is transcribed thence into the Repository.

p. 11.

Offic. Ar-
mor. l. 11.
A.

The Earl
of Hertford
repairs to
the prince.

The same day King Henry expired, the said Earl of Hertford, accompanied with Sir Anthony Brown, master of the horse, and a great number of noblemen, with knights pensioners, esquires and gentlemen, did ride in their best manner, with all speed, to the court of Prince Edward, to attend upon his grace there, as on their Sovereign Lord, according to the last will and testament of his said illustrious father. Which was, that the true title of the crown of England should appertain, undoubtedly, to his said most dearly beloved son, and right heir apparent, then Prince Edward, now most worthily named, our Sovereign Lord, &c. and King of England, &c.

For the precise hour of King Henry's departure, and who they were he entrusted by his last will with the care of the prince his son, and the public affairs, when the new king was proclaimed; and how the public state of the kingdom at this *crisis* stood, I had rather the reader should take these things from the pen of a great peer than at London, I mean Henry, Earl of Sussex; who wrote thus to his countess the last day of January:

1546.
The present posture of affairs.

"These be to signify unto you, that our late sovereign lord the king departed at Westminster upon Friday last, the 28 of this instant January, about two of the clock in the morning; and the king's majesty that now is, proclaimed king this present last day of the same month. And like as for the departure of the one we may lament, so for the establishment of the other, to all our comforts, we may rejoice. The names of his executors are, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Wriothesley, Lord Chancellor of England; the Lord St. John, lord president of the council, and great master; the Lord Russel, lord privy seal; the Earl of Hertford, lord great chamberlain of England; the Viscount Lisle, lord admiral; the Bishop of Durham, Mr. Secretary Paget, Sir Anthony Denny, Sir Anthony Brown, Sir William Herbert, the lord chief justice of the Common Pleas; Bromley, another justice there; Sir Thomas (John) Baker, chancellor of the tenths, Sir Edward North, and divers others, aiders to the same, which for lack of time I pretermit. The parliament is clearly dissolved; the term and all writs closed. The court is now at the Tower; from whence the king to-morrow shall be received, and conducted to his house, Durham Place. His highness coronation shall be at Shrovetide, &c. From Ely Place in Holbourn, the last day of January, in the first year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, King Edward VI.

The Earl of Sussex to his wife concerning the new king.
Titus, B. 2.

Your assured loving husband,
HENRY SUSSEX."

1546.
p. 12.
The man-
ner of pro-
claiming
the king in
London.
Vol. No.
17. Intit.
Coronation
In Offic.
Armor.

The ceremonies and circumstances that attended the proclaiming of the king were as follow: On Monday, about ten of the clock in the morning, the officers of arms and trumpets assembled in the palace of Westminster, where there was a stage of boards upon hogsheads; and upon it stood Garter, York, Richmond, Somerset, and Rouge Cros, with their coats of arms; and all the trumpeters standing on the ground, in a range right before the said officers. And then one of the said trumpets blew three several times; whereat there was a great audience. Then, when the lords were come from the parliament house to the same place, Somerset, herald, gave the audience command to keep silence, and with a loud voice proclaimed these words following:

“EDWARD the Sixth, by the grace of God, King of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England, and also Ireland, in earth Supreme Head, greeting: Where it hath pleased Almighty God, on Friday last past, in the morning, to call to his infinite mercy the most excellent High and Mighty Prince HENRY VIII. of most noble and famous memory, our most dear and intyrelly beloved father, (whose soul God pardon.) Forasmuch as We, being his only son and undoubted heir, be now therby invested and established in the throne imperial of this realm, and other his realms, dominions, and countries, with all regalities, pre-eminencies, styles, names, titles and dignities, to the same belonging, or any wise appertaining, WE do by these presents signify unto all our said most loving, faithful, and obedient subjects, that like as We for our parts shall by God's great grace shew ourselves a most gracious and benign sovereign lord to all our good subjects in their just and lawful suits and causes; so We mistrust not but they, and every of them, will again, for their parts, at all times and in all causes, shew themselves unto Us, their natural liege lord, most faithful and obedient subjects, according to their bounden duties and allegiances.

Wherby they shall please God, and do the thing that shall tend unto their own preservation and sureties: willing and commanding all men, of all estates, degrees and conditions, to see our peace and accord kept, and to be obedient to our laws, as they tender our favour, and will answer for the contrary at their extreme perils. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters patents. Witness our self at Westminster the xxxi January, in the first year of our reign." 1546.

Also Clarentieux, Carlyle, Winsor and Chester, in their coats of arms, with one trumpeter, in places accustomed of the city, having the like commission, sealed with the king's great seal, assisted with the maior, aldermen, and sheriffs, proclaimed the same in like manner the same morning.

The king then was proclaimed the 31 day of January. The very next day warrants were hastened from the king to the sheriffs of the several counties, to see him proclaimed in their several sheriffwicks. That to the sheriff of Nottingham and Derby, having come to my hands, it may not be amiss to specify; especially for some variation that may be perceived in the proclamation. And in the counties.

"Rex Vicecomiti Nottingham et Derby, salutem. Præcipimus tibi, quod statim visis præsentibus, in singulis locis infra ballivas tuas," &c. "The King our Sovereign Lord EDWARD the Sixth, by the grace of God, King of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. Of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, in earth the Supream Head, doth give to understand to all his most loving, and faithful, and obedient subjects, and to every of them: that whereas it hath pleased Almighty God, on Friday the 28 of January last past, in the morning, to call unto his infinite mercy the most excellent, High and Mighty Prince Henry VIII. of most noble and famous memory, the king's majesty's most entyrelly beloved father, whose soul God pardon; forasmuch as the king's majesty now being his only son, and undoubted heir, is now hereby invested and established in the crown imperial of this

1546. realm, and other his majesty's realms, dominions and countries, with all regalities, pre-eminencies, styles, names, titles and dignities to the same belonging, or in any wise appertaining: the same our sovereign lord doth signify unto all his said most loving, faithful, and obedient subjects, that like as his majesty, for his part, shall by God's grace shew himself a most gracious and benign sovereign lord to all his good subjects, to all their just and lawful suits and causes: so his majesty mistrusteth not but they, and every of them, will again, for their parts, at all times, and in all causes, shew themselves unto his highness, their natural liege lord, most loving, faithful and obedient subjects, according to their bounden duties and allegiances. Wherby they shall please God, and do the thing that shall tend to their own preservations and sureties. Willing and commanding all men, of all states, degrees and conditions, to see the peace kept, and to be subject to his laws, as they tender his gracious favour, and will answer for the contrary at their extreme perils. And God save the king. 'Et hoc sub periculo incumbenti, nullatenus omittas, teste meipso apud Westmonasterium, primo die Febr. anno reg. Edwardi primo'."

The king
comes to
the Tower.
Vol. I. 7.
In Offic.
Armor.

On the same day the king was proclaimed in London he was accompanied in goodly order, from his place of Enfield, to the Tower of London; to the which he came about three of the clock in the afternoon; where all the nobility of the realm were ready to receive him, to their great joy and comfort. At his approaching near to the same, was great shooting of ordnance in all places thereabouts, as well from the Tower as from the ships; whereat the king took great pleasure. Being there arrived he was welcomed by the nobles, and conducted by them to his lodging within the Tower, being richly hung and garnished with rich cloth of arras, and cloth of estate, agreeable to such a royal guest. And so were all his nobles lodged and placed, some in the Tower and some in the city. His council lodged for the most part

about his highness, who every day kept the council chamber for determination of main causes, as well about the interment of the king's father, as for the expedition of his own coronation. 1546.

The morrow after, being Tuesday, all the lords aforesaid, and most part of the nobility of the realm, as well spiritual as temporal, there assembled, about three of the clock in the afternoon, went into the king's chamber of presence. And after that the Earl of Hertford, the Lord Admiral, and other of the king's executors, had brought the king's majesty from his privy chamber to his chair of estate, prepared in the chamber, his highness there standing, all the said lords, according to their degrees, proceeded in order one after another: and there kneeling kissed his majesty's hand, saying every one of them, *God save your grace*. And after they had so done, the lord chancellor, in most eloquent wise declared unto them, the effect of the late noble king's last will and testament, with the names of the executors therein contained, being sixteen in number, (which are commonly to be seen in our historians,) adding, that it was condescended and agreed with the whole assent and consent of them all, that the Earl of Hertford should be governor of the young king during his nonage. Whereupon all the said lords made answer in one voice, that there was none so meet for the same in all the realm as he; and said also, that they were well content withal. Then the earl gave them hearty thanks, and said, he trusted in God so to use himself, that it should be to their contentation, and required them in general, to afford him their aid and help in the right of the realm. Who made answer all in one voice, That they would be ready at all times, with all their might and power, both for the defence of the realm and of the king. This ended, they cryed altogether with a loud voice, *God save the noble King EDWARD*. Then the king's majesty put off his cap, and said, "We heartily thank you, my lords all; and hereafter, in all that ye shall have to do with us for

The nobility kiss the king's hand

p. 14.

The Earl of Hertford accepted governor of the king's person.

1546.
The lords
temporal,

any suit or causes, ye shall be heartily welcome to us." Then immediately after, all the lords temporal were warned to repair to the Star-chamber, at Westminster, upon the next morrow, to be sworn to the king: and so they were.

and spiri-
tual, sworn
to the
king.

On Thursday and Friday ensuing were sworn at the same chamber the lords spiritual: and the master of the rolls, with the clerks of the Chancery, in like manner sworn, to register the testament and last will of the late noble King Henry.

The pro-
tector's
prayer.

When this high dignity and trust was devolved upon the Earl of Hertford, he, like a considerate man, began to think well what a weighty and ticklish office lay upon him; and how much wisdom and conduct it required to govern this great people: and therefore, first of all, like a good Christian, solemnly implored the assistance of the King of Kings, in a very proper devout prayer, (which I suppose was his constant form); therein professing to God, how holy and sincere his intentions were, and that his endeavours should be to promote the divine glory, and the good of God's church. And for that end beseeching the Almighty to inspire him with all suitable qualifications; to grant him wisdom, and by his counsel to set forth his cause; and to give knowledge to all that should counsel him. And that as God had begun great things by his hand, so to let him be his minister to defend them. By the whole prayer may be perceived his piety and good intentions. See it in the Repository.

B.

Proclama-
tion for
claims at
the coro-
nation.
Offic.
Armor.
I. 7.
p. 35.

On Friday, February 4, Chester, herald, accompanied with trumpets, proclaimed this proclamation in three several places in London: "EDWARD the Sixth, &c. Where by the laws and ancient customs of this realm of England, the noble knights and other the king's subjects, by sundry tenures of their lands and hereditaments, are bounden to attend upon his majesties person royal, at the time and day of his graces coronation; to do, exhibit, and minister to his highness their several services, duties, ministries, and

offices; and thereupon to receive of his majesty such gifts, fees and rewards, as to several services, offices and duties of antient time hath been accustomed and appertained; his majesty royal, by his proclamation signifieth to all his said nobility, and other his subjects, claiming to do service at his said coronation, that his majesty hath, by his highness commission, appointed, assigned and authorized his right trusty and right welbeloved cousins and counsellors, Francis Earl of Shrewsbury, William Earl of Essex, and John Lord Viscount Lisle, High Admiral of England; and his right welbeloved counsellors, Richard Lyster, Kt. Chief Justice of England, and Edward Montague, Kt. Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, (&c.) and eight, or three of them, to be commissioners for the receiving and allowance of the said claims; who shall begin his majesties courts for that purpose upon Monday the 8. of this month of February, within Whitehal of his majesties palace." 1546.

On Sunday following, the king was made knight by the lord protector, his uncle; and immediately upon the same his highness made the Maior of London, and Justice Portman, knights. The king knighted.

Upon Monday next after, the king's commissioners began the court of claims and services in Whitehal. Court of claims.

On Friday, Feb. 11. (10.) the lord protector did receive and make oath, before the lord chancellor in Westminster Hall, to be a true treasurer to the king, as of his treasure, and to deliver it truly, when it should be demanded. And also to his power to defend his realm, and to withstand the power of the Bishop of Rome and his laws. The lord protector sworn,

Then Thursday Feb. 17. that is, the day next after the burial of the late famous king, all the temporal lords assembled at the Tower of London, in their robes of estate: where the aforesaid Earl of Hertford was created Duke of Somerset, together with some other creations. And created duke.

One of the first cares of the deceased king's executors, and counsellors to the young king, was to renew commissions to the justices renewed.

1546. commissions to the justices of peace of the realm; whose former commissions, immediately upon King Henry's death actually ceased; which was necessary in the first place to be lookt after, that so the course of justice and the order of laws throughout the counties, might run as they did before. To these commissions the persons subscribed, who by the late king's will were made the chief administrators of the government, till the king should attain to eighteen years of age: and particularly wholesome politic directions were given to the said justices, in order to the preserving of peace, righteousness and good order; and for their meeting in the several hundreds every six weeks, and that no alteration or innovation should be made. The commission to those of the county of Norfolk may deserve to be perused. The original is in the Cotton Library; which transcribed will be found in the Repository.

C.
Cott. Libr.
Titus B. 2.

Seimour
governor
and pro-
tector.

King Edward VI. a child, but of admirable hopes, being thus come to the crown, his uncle created Duke of Somerset, (which honor, they say, was intended him by King Henry,) was (as we heard before) governor of his person; who in the beginning of this reign grew an exceeding great man, swelling with titles. And this was his style, "The most noble and victorious Prince Edward, Duke of Somerset, Earl of Hertford, Viscount Beauchamp, Lord Seimour, Governor of the Person of the King's Majesty, and Protector of all his Realms, his Lieutenant General of all his Armies both by Land and by Sea, Lord High Treasurer, and Earl Marshal of England, Governour of the Isles of Guernsey and Jersey, and Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter."

p. 16.

He is the
people's
favourite.

And because he was thus great, so he also was a very generous and good man, and a sincere favourer of the gospel; he was entirely beloved of those that professed it, and for the most part by the populace: and therefore was commonly called, *The good Duke*: and indeed died the people's martyr.

It added still further to his glory and esteem, that

he got a complete victory over the Scots in this first year of the king, in the month of September: and it was the more glorious to him, in that the Scots were not only match and equal in force with the protector's army, but treble, or at least double in number at the first onset, as was reported by strangers. And it was the more glorious still, because it was now given out, that this success would effect, or bring on two admirable ends: "The one, the bettering and perfecting the crown imperial of England, in reconciling the unnatural and ungodly hatred between two members of one body, viz. England and Scotland; which of right and office should be as the right hand and the left, in peace and amity, to resist and withstand the force of all strange and foreign assaults: and the other, that the old amity and friendship might be restored between the two kingdoms, that God by the creation of the world appointed to be in this one realm and island, divided from all the world by the impaking of the sea, and by natural parentage and blood; one in language and speech, in form and proportion of personage; one in maners and condition of living. And that the occasion of all discord and hatred banished, the good Scottish English man might confess and do the same at home, that he did in foreign countries, calling an English man always his countryman, and studious to do him plesure before any other nation of the world. The breach of this divine and natural friendship was the very work of the devil by his wicked members; that hath not only taught Scotland disobedience unto her natural and lawful prince and superior power, the king's majesty of England, but the contempt of Christ and his most holy word:" as John Hoper, then at Zuric, (afterward bishop and martyr,) spake in his epistle to a book, which he dedicated to this duke soon after this victory.

1546.
Gets a
great vic-
tory over
the Scots.

Declarat.
of Christ
and his
Office.

CHAP. III.

The protector's declarations and letters before and after the war with Scotland. Sir W. Paget's New-year's Gift to the protector. King Edward's coronation. His piety.

1547.
The cause
of entering
into war
with Scot-
land.

BUT to stay a little at this war with Scotland, which might seem to be hardly reconcileable with good policy, so soon after a young king's access to his crown, to embroil himself in wars with his next neighbours, and that only upon the account of a mistress: therefore to lay open the merits of this cause somewhat more particularly than our printed histories have done. Before actual entrance into this hostility, the lord protector issued out proclamations, "Declaring therein to the Scots, the justness of the English quarrel with them, and offering them all the terms of peace in case they would perform what the states of Scotland had before agreed to, in relation to the marriage with the daughter of Scotland; and assuring them that they came not with any design to conquer their country, or make themselves masters over the Scots, to bring them into any bondage; but that both kingdoms might live for time to come in perfect love and amity."

The Scotch
officers a-
verse to
England.

But the Scotch governors and captains withheld these proclamations from their nation, and stifled them for their own particular wealth and interest; not regarding the public good so much as their own private power and authority; still abusing the people with forgeries and tales concerning the English nation.

The lord
protector's
letter to
Scotland.

As the lord protector dealt thus fairly with that nation before the war, so after his victory and return home, he endeavoured by all fair means and messages to pursue the same ends. And indeed a very great number of the Scottish realm, that more impartially considered the benefit of the friendship of England, and the danger of the French, who were send-

ing forces now to Scotland to assist them, came over to the king's side, and were well-willers to him, and aiders of his purpose. There was a very excellent letter exhortatory sent to the Scots, by the lord protector, in the beginning of February; which was also printed, I suppose, for this end, that it might not be stifled, as his other former letters and proclamations were; but that it might be read of all. Of which notable letter our historians make no mention: herein he wrote, "That it made him to marvel what fatal chance it was that had so dissevered their hearts, and made them so unmindful of their own profit, to heap to themselves most extreme miseries, which the English, whom they would needs have their enemies, went about to take away from them. That though they (the English) were superiors in the field, and masters of a great part of their realm, and so might expect the Scots should seek to them, yet such was their charity and brotherly love, that they would not cease to provoke and call upon them to their own commodity: and they were content to cry and call upon them, to have the English rather their brothers than their enemies, their countrymen than their conquerors. And this should be a witness before God and all Christian people between the two nations, that the English, professing the gospel of Christ, did not cease to call and provoke them from the effusion of their own blood, and the destruction of the realm of Scotland, from perpetual feud and hatred, and the final eradication of their nation, and from servitude to foreign nations."

1547.

p. 18.

The protector in his said letter shewed, "The great battels that had been fought between the two realms, the incursions, roads and spoils made on both parts; how the realm of Scotland was five times won by one King of England, and several of the Scottish kings, some taken prisoners, some slain, and some for very sorrow dying. And how notwithstanding both nations were united together in one language, in one island, in like maners, form and conditions; so that

1547. it was a very unmeet, unnatural and unchristian thing, that there should be such mortal wars between them."

And then to incline them to allow the marriage, he proceeded, "That if God should grant whatsoever the Scots would wish, what could they wish sooner, than that which now by fortune chanced, that these two kingdoms might be united under one ruler? And that two successions could not concur and fall into one by any other means than by marriage, whereby one blood, one lineage, one parentage, is made of two, and an indefectible right given of both to one, without the destruction and abolishing of the other: which, he said, he would have them to think to come of God's own disposition and providence. And that the rather, because the two sons of the former king, being in divers places, both died within four and twenty hours: leaving but one maiden child and princess. What could any Christian man, that thought the world governed by God's providence, think otherwise, but that it was God's pleasure it should be so, that these two realms should join in marriage, and thereby make a godly and perpetual unity? He protested, as his proclamations at the last wars declared also, that it was the king his master's mind, by his (the protector's) advice and counsel, not to conquer, but to have in amity; not to win by force, but to conciliate by love; not to spoil and kill, but to save and keep; not to dissever and divorce, but to join in marriage, from high to low, both the realms, to make of both one isle and realm, in love, amity, concord and charity."

He urged further, "That it could not be denied but they had the great seal of Scotland granted by the parliament of Scotland, for the marriage, with assurances and pledges until the performance, and that in the time of the late King Henry VIII. And in the time of the same, the Scotch governor that now was (viz. the Earl of Arran,) was a great doer therein: though after by the Cardinal of St. Andrews and

others, with certain vain fears and hopes, and greediness of dignity, perverted and revolted from his first agreement. 1547. Wherby he had put all the realm to the loss of such holds and fortresses as were lately taken from them, and to the loss of a foughten field." He said further, "They (the English) offered the Scots, notwithstanding their victory, to leave the name of their nation, (England,) and to take the indifferent old name (common to both nations) of Britain again; because nothing shall be left of the English part unoffered. p. 19. That they intended not to disinherit their (the Scotch men's) queen, but to make her offspring heirs and inheritors to England. What meeter marriage," added he, "could be for her, than to match with the King of England? That they sought not to take from the Scots their laws nor customs, but to redress their oppressions. That, if their queen were married out of the realm (viz. to the French, who indeed got her away) the English title remained; and they would be subjects to a foreign prince, of another country and another language, and have the English their enemies, even at their elbow, and their succors far from them. And if any foreign prince or power should be their aider, and send any army, how would they oppress them, fill their houses, waste their grounds, spend and consume their victuals, and hold them in subjection, and regard them but as slaves, and take their queen to bestow as they listed; and at last leave their realm to be a prey to the English, and a true conquest?"

And lastly, an invitation was made to those of their nation, "that favoured peace, and that profitable marriage, to enter and come into England, and to aid the English in this most godly purpose, and to be witness of their doings; to whom they would keep promises heretofore declared, and see further recompenced. And, which never yet before was granted to Scotland, in any league betwixt England and Scotland, the king, considering the multitudes of them which were come to his majesty's devotion, had, by

1547. the protector's advice and counsel, granted, That from henceforth all merchants and other Scotch men, that would enter their names with one of the lieutenants or wardens of the marches, or any of the king's officers having authority, and there profess to take part with England, might lawfully, and without any trouble or vexation, enter into any port or haven of England, and use their traffic of merchandize, either by land or by sea, and buy, sell, and bring in the commodities of Scotland; and take and carry forth the commodities of England, as freely as English men, and with no other customs or payments than were due by English men." This excellent epistle is preserved in Grafton's Chronicle, and taken thence by Hollingshed into his, only leaving out a few words in the conclusion, shewing the date, viz. "At London the 5th of February, in the second year of the reign of the most Noble Prince, and our Sovereign Lord Edward VI. by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and in yearth under Christ the Supreme Hedd of the Church of England and Ireland." The omission of which in the transcriber occasioned Hollingshed's mistake in placing this letter under the year 1549. It appears by Bale that this letter was wrote in Latin as well as English; that it might be, I suppose, the more universally read, and the justice of the quarrel, on the side of England, might appear to other countries. The same author would make this letter to be of the protector's own composing; for he saith, his incomparable wisdom and solid learning might be understood by his learned writings; whereof this he sets down for one; and another letter to the nobility of Scotland he mentions for another (though I am apt to think, in this Bale was mistaken, and that both this and that was but one and the same) besides some other discourses of his.

p. 998.

p. 20.

The Earl of Shrewsbury accompanies the protector,

The Duke carried a brave army with him, and was attended with a great many of the nobility. And in August, as he past by York, Francis, Earl of

Shrewsbury, that generous and loyal peer, and of ancient nobility, and at that time President, if I mistake not, of the North, offered to go forward with him and his army, and to do the king service with his person in that present journey into Scotland. The duke then told him, that he was loth to put him to more trouble and disquiet than needs must, out of respect to his quality, and that he would reserve him till greater need should require. But being now at Newcastle, Aug. 28, he sent for the said earl, praying his company, considering sithence, as his letter to him imported, of what moment it would be to have such a nobleman as his lordship with them, as well to have the charge of some one of the wards of footmen, as to foresee for experience, the order of things, which might, God willing, be worthy of memory: that he should therefore put himself in order with his servants, not passing what number he brought of them with him; and to be with him at Berwick by Sept. 6. And the earl did accordingly accompany the lord protector. I do not set down the managery of the battle, because our histories shew us that at large.

But when the good news of this victory over the Scots came to court, both by an express messenger, and by letters from the lord protector, it is not to be past without remark, how becomingly the young king took it. For, on the 18th of September, being then at his house of Oatlands, he wrote an answer to his uncle with his own hand, importing, "That he had understood the good success it pleased God to grant, by his courage and wise foresight. And in the first place (most piously attributing the mercy to God) he acknowledged himself most bounden to yield him most hearty thanks, and to seek his true honour by all the means he might. And secondly, he thanked his uncle, and prayed him, in his name, to thank most heartily the Earl of Warwick, and all the other noblemen, gentlemen, and the rest that served in that journey; and bad them be well assured, that, God

1547.

King Edward's behaviour upon the victory.

1547. granting him life, he would shew himself not unmindful of their service, and would be ready to consider the same as any occasion should serve."

The duke's
glory;

As the above-mentioned letters and writings shewed the duke's parts and abilities, so his conduct of the army against Scotland, and his success there, shewed his fortune, and added to his glory. But his greatness exposed him to the envy of the nobility; under which the good man could not long support himself, but fell twice, and the latter time fatally, to the ineffable grief of godly men, and the sore regret of the commons, to whom he was very dear.

and fall.

An ill character of
the duke.
Life of K.
Edward,
p. 15.

Sir John Hayward (a writer of King Edward's Life), who was apt to give ill characters, especially of protestant churchmen, and others that were chief favourers of the Reformation, saith of this duke, *That he was a man little esteemed for wisdom, or personage, or courage in arms.* Yet let the same

p. 21.

author relate some few other historical matters concerning the same nobleman, and his reader will scarcely give him credit in this: for in the same place he saith of him, "That he was in favour with King Henry (and he would not receive fools nor cowards into his favour), and by him was much employed (which that king would not have don, had he been so weak a person). That he was always observed to be both faithful and fortunate, as well in giving advice, as in managing a charge." And then concerning his successes he writes, "That he was

But unjustly.

Warden of the Marches against Scotland, and that three years successively he made great inroads into that kingdom, and got great victories there; and that in the Marches of Calais, upon the approach of 7000 English he raised an army of 21,000 French encamped before Bulloyn, wan their ordnance, cariage, treasury, tents, with the loss only of one man; and in his return wan the castel of Outing, within shot of Arde: and the next year invaded and spoiled Picardy." And this moreover the said author writes of the duke: "That notwithstanding his constant

successes, yet did he never hereby rise either into haughtiness in himself, or contempt of others; but remained courteous and affable, choosing a course least subject to envy, between stiff stubbornness and filthy flattery." These accounts of the duke are hardly consistent with that mean character he had before given him, and which elsewhere he fasteneth on him, charging him with a *dull capacity*, and calling him *fearful and suspicious, and of feeble spirit*. 1547.

For my part, I think he deserves a better commendation to posterity. He was a man heartily favouring the gospel and the professors of it, and by his influence the reformation of religion in England did so well proceed in the beginning. Nor did he want true courage and resolution, until he saw how the greatest part of the court, for bye-ends, had entered into combination against him, and had acquired such strength and interest, as, should he have opposed, might have endangered a civil war, the introducing of popery, and the good king's life, as well as his own; and therefore in that emergency reckoned it the best course to submit himself. His frailties, which procured him enemies, more truly were hastiness and passion, snapping up the counsellors, and taking up too sharply those who had business with him, nay, his very best friends; and affecting too much to have his own will stand, which Sir William Paget, secretary of state, his most faithful but plain-dealing friend, once laid before him, as we may see hereafter in this story. Page 82. His truer character.

The said Paget, for a new year's gift to this nobleman, soon after his high advancements, sent him a short scrole, consisting of seasonable advices for his great place and station, enclosed in a letter; which letter and scrole were as follow: Paget's new-year's gift to the duke.

"Because the determination to renew gifts of the new year was sudden, I could not prepare such a new year's gift for your grace as the fashion of the world required me to present to a personage of your estate; and yet, considering the favour of your grace to be Paget to the L. Protector. Cotton. Librar. Titus, F. 3.

1547. special toward me, and my love is reciproque toward you, me thought it best to send your grace, though no rich gift, yet a token of my heart, which wisheth both this and all other years hereafter happy and lucky unto you. My token is this Scedule here enclosed; wherein, as in a glass, if your grace will daily look, and by it make you ready, you shall so well apparel yourself as each man shall delight to behold you. I pray your grace to accept this token in good part; which very hartly love, and great carefulness of your grace's weldoing, hath moved me to send unto your grace. To whom I wish as well as to my own soul.

Your, &c.

W. P.

Westminster, Jan. 2."

THE SCEDULE.

"Deliberate maturely in all things. Execute quickly the determinations. Do justice without respect. Make assured and stayd men ministers under you. Maintain the ministers in their offices. Punish the disobedient according to their deserts. In the king's causes give commission in the king's name. Reward the king's worthy servants liberally and quickly. Give your own to your own, and the king's to the king's, frankly. Dispatch suitors shortly. Be affable to the good, and severe to the evil. Follow advice in counsel. Take fee or reward of the king only. Keep your ministers about you uncorrupt.—Thus God will prosper you, the king favour you, and all men love you.

W. P."

A notable instance of the king's piety at his coronation. Bal. de Viris illustrib.

At the king's coronation, which was Shrove Sunday, February 21 (Sir John Hayward writes the 19th *amiss*), an author, that wrote about those times, relates that he heard it from credible hands, That when three swords were brought, signs of his being king of three kingdoms, he said, there was one yet wanting; and when the nobles about him asked him, what that was? he answered, *The Bible*. "That book (added he) is the sword of the Spirit, and to be preferred be-

fore these swords. That ought in all right to govern us, who use them for the people's safety by God's appointment. Without that sword we are nothing, we can do nothing, we have no power. From that we are what we are this day. From that we receive whatsoever it is that we at this present do assume. He that rules without it, is not to be called God's minister, or a king. Under that we ought to live, to fight, to govern the people, and to perform all our affairs. From that alone we obtain all power, virtue, grace, salvation, and whatsoever we have of divine strength." And when the pious young king had said this, and some other like words, he commanded the Bible, with the greatest reverence, to be brought and carried before him.

The ceremonies and solemnities of the king's coronation may be read elsewhere. There were then nominated and made forty Knights of the Bath; who, being created with so great royalty, were commanded to pay the duties of money to the heralds, double to the same payable by other knights. And because they are omitted by other historians, it may be fit to remember them here, for the honour of their posterity:

The Duke of Suffolk,	The Earl of Oxford,
The Earl of Hertford,	The Earl of Ormond,
The Lord Talbot,	The Lord Herbert,
The L. Charles Brandon,	The Lord Cromwel,
The Lord Scrope's Son	The Lord Winsore's Son
and Heir,	and Heir,
Sir Francis Russel,	Sir Richard Devereux,
Sir Anthony Brown,	Sir Henry Seimour,
Sir John Gates,	Sir Thomas Housselyn,
Sir Alexander Umpton,	Sir Edmund Molineux,
of Oxfordshire,	Sir William Balthrope,
Sir Valentine Knightly,	(Babthorp perhaps)
Sir G. Vernon, of the Peak,	Sir Tho. Nevyl, of Hold.
Sir ——— Holcroft,	Sir Henry Tirrel,
(Thomas perhaps, that	Sir Wymond Carew,
was Knight Marshal)	The Lord Matravers,

Knights of
the Bath.
Ex. Offic.
Armor. l. 7.

p. 23.

1547. The Lord Strange, Sir Chr. Barker, Garter,
 The Lord Lisle, Sir James Hales,
 The Lord Hastings, Sir Thomas Brycknal,
 Sir Anth. Cook, of Essex, Sir Angel Marian,
 Sir George Norton, Sir John Cuts, of Essex,
 Sir Robert Lytton, Sir William Scarington,
 Sir John Porte, of Derbyshire, Sir William Snathe.

The Knights of the Carpet, dubbed by the king on Shrove Tuesday in the morning, and at other times during the *utas* of the abovesaid noble solemnization, were,

Sir John Radcliff, Sir John Mason,
 Sir Thomas Gray, Sir John Wyndham,
 Sir Anthony Angier, Sir John Vaughan, &c.

E. F.

Fifty-five in all.

CHAP. IV.

Papists' behaviour towards the king. Lent sermons.

The papists jealous of the king.

THE papistical sort were always jealous of this prince, even before he came to the crown, as liking neither his instructors, nor his way of education; and as the gospellers had their eyes upon him always, and placed great hope in him, so the papists lookt a-squint at him. And no small fears there were among good men, lest that sort should have taken him off from good principles, by some means or other, or from continuance in life, to proceed in them. One John Bale. writer, in the latter end of King Henry, hath these words: "Many things I conclude concerning Prince Edward, whom I doubt not but the Lord hath sent for the singular comfort of England. Not that I temerarily define any thing to come concerning him, considering it only in the Lord's power. But I desire the same Lord to preserve his bringing up

from the contagious drinks of those false physicians. 1547.
And this is to be prayed for of all men."

The king was but young, which supplied the papists with pretences to slight and disobey his orders, especially about religious matters. And indeed they cried out afterwards of his proceedings, as being done in his minority, and done by others, the chief men about him. They would ordinarily say, "Tush! this gear will not tarry: it is but my L. Protector's, and my Lord of Canterbury's doing. The king is a child, and he knows not of it." But old father Latimer upon this hath these words: "Have we not a noble king? Was there ever king so noble, so godly, brought up with such noble counsellors, so excellent and well learned schoolmasters? I will tell you this (and I speak it even as I think), his majesty hath more godly wit and understanding, more learning and knowledge at this age, than twenty of his progenitors, that I could name, had at any time of their life."

Under-
value his
orders, be-
cause he
was young,
p. 24.

Nay, some there were, set up probably by the papists, that made scruple of the lawfulness of the very name of *king*; because it is spoken in 1 Sam. viii. as a thing displeasing to God, when the people of Israel would have a king, and that it was a rejecting God, *that He should not reign over them*. Which gave occasion to the above-recited preacher thus to speak: "There is a great error risen now a days among many of us, which are vain and newfangled men, climbing beyond the limits of our capacity and wit, in wrenching this text of scripture. They wrench these words awry after their own fancies, and make much doubt as touching a king, and his godly name. But it makes no matter by what names the rulers be called, if so be they walk ordinally with God, and direct their steps with him; for both patriarchs, judges, and kings, had and have their authority of God, and therefore godly."

Some scruple the
name of
king.

First sermon before
the king.

Lent being come, care was taken to put up good preachers in the king's chapel to preach before the king; and one of these was Barlow, Bishop of St.

1547.
Bishop of
St. David's
preaches
before the
king this
Lent.
Winches-
ter offend-
ed at his
doctrine.
Foxii MSS.

David's, who this February preached at court, urging in his sermon a redress of several abuses in religion, and laying some platform for a reformation. The Bishop of Winchester was then at Court, and was mightily disturbed at it, calling it *his tattling*; and noting several points in that sermon, sent them to the lord protector, urging to him, in a letter from his place in Southwark, the great danger of making any alterations; and that the Bishop of St. David's, and such as he, laboured to disorder the realm, it being a time rather to repair what needed reparation; "That he laid a platform for confusion and disturbances in state; and that the council, who had so much other business to do, should not have such inward disorders added to them. That if his brother St. David's did, like a champion, with his sword in his hand, make enter for the rest, the door of licence opened, there would be more by folly thrust in with him than his grace would wish. And that if the Bishop of St. David's, and such other, had their heads cumbred with any new platforms, he would wish they were commanded, between this and the king's full age, to draw the platform diligently, to hew the stones, dig the sand, and chop the chalk, while the time was unseasonable for building; and when the king came to full age, to present their labours to him, and in the mean time not to disturb the state of of the realm."

St. David's
vindicates
it.

p. 25.

By these subtil counsils did Winchester study to wean the protector from entering upon a reformation of the corruptions of the church, or at least to delay it; and to divert his mind from it, in the same letter, he threw in before him another plausible business, namely, to forward a match between the young king and the daughter of the King of the Romans, if the emperor would offer her, as he had once before done; saying, That by this alliance the protector's estimation would increase, and the king's surety not a little augmented; and this he shewed might be a good check for France. But all the effect this letter of Bishop

Gardiner had upon the Lord Protector was, that he gave to the Bishop of St. David's these notes and animadversions upon his sermon, to consider the same, and vindicate himself and his discourse, as well as he could. Which he did, and called it his Purgation. The protector having received it, conveyed it unto Winchester, that he might see his own cavilling answered. And he again, like a champion for the popish cause, discussed this Purgation, and sent it to the protector. It was writ with such a freedom, that he asked the protector to bear with him. 1547.

Soon after, Dr. Ridley preached at court on a Wednesday. His sermon also ran upon the same subject. Winton was then also present. The business of his sermon was to confute the Bishop of Rome's pretended authority in government, and usurped power, and in pardons. He discoursed also touching the abuses of images in churches, and ceremonies, and especially holy water, for the driving away devils. This learned man used much modesty in his discourse; having such expressions as these, "That he was always desirous to set forth the mere truth, and unity," and would often add, when he laid down any thing, "That it was as far as he had read; or, if any man could shew him further, he would hear him." Winton, who was very fond both of images and holy water, and could not hear them spoken against, wrote him a large letter in behalf of both these. The copy whereof he also sent to the protector. The letter is extant in Fox's Monuments. But as the Bishop of S. David's, so Ridley also answered Winton; but the answers are lost. Dr. Ridley also preaches before the king.

This Lent, in the month of April, Dr. Hugh Glazier preached at St. Paul's Cross, and affirmed there, that "Lent was not ordained of GOD to be fasted, neither the eating of flesh to be forborn: but that the same was a politic ordinance of man, and might therefore be broken of men at their plesure." This Glazier was formerly a friar: Arch- Winchester offend- ed again. Pag. 1226. Dr. Glazier preaches at Paul's Cross, in Lent. Stow.

1547. bishop Cranmer made him his commissary for Calais and the parts thereabouts.

The Complin said in English.

The Complin, being a part of the evening prayer, was sang in English in the king's chappel, before any act of parliament enjoined it.

p. 26.

CHAP. V.

State books, and others, now published. The Bishop of Colen's consultation. Erasmus's paraphrase in English. The homilies. Popish books set forth. Images defaced. Bishop Gardiner busy. Religion stands as it did. King Henry's debts. King Edward's letter; and the Lady Mary's to Queen Katharine.

An old book for the supremacy translated into English and printed.

THE book "De Verâ Differentiâ inter Regiam Potestatem, et Ecclesiasticam," (called "The King's Book," either because King Henry was the author, or rather the authorizer of it) about this time was reprinted by Henry Lord Stafford, with a preface dedicatory by him made, and set before it. It was first printed in Latin in the year 1533, when King Henry thought of shaking off the foreign power of Rome: and whereas before it was in Latin, that it might be communicated unto all princes, what the extent of regal power was; so now it was put into English, by the aforesaid lord, to prepare the people the better to bear what the king was now doing in the reformation of the church, and to make the subjects the willinger to let go the pope and his religion.

Bishop of Colen's Consultation, printed in English.

And October 30th came forth, translated into English, the book of the reformation of the church of Colen; whereof Herman, the good archbishop and elector, was the great instrument. This book shewed itself in this kingdom at this juncture, undoubtedly, by the means of Archbishop Cranmer, and probably of the protector, as a silent invitation to the people of the land to a reformation, and as a motive to incline them to be willing to forsake the old super-

stitution, when they should see the beauty of a reformed church so lively laid before them in this book. And perhaps it was intended to serve as some pattern to the heads and governors of this church, whereby to direct their pains they were now ere long to take about the emendation of religious worship. This book took so well, that it was printed again the next year, together with the mention of the place where it was printed, namely, London, and the persons who printed it, namely, John Day and William Seres, dwelling then in Sepulchre's parish, at the sign of the Resurrection, a little above Holborn Conduit: both which were omitted in the first edition. The book was thus intitled, "A simple and religious Consultation of us Herman, by the Grace of God, Archbishop of Colen, and Prince Elector, &c. by what means a Christian Reformation, and founded in God's Word, of Doctrine, Administration of the Divine Sacraments, of Ceremonies, of the whole Cure of Souls, and other Ecclesiastical Ministries, may be begun among Men committed to our Charge, until the Lord grant a better, to be appointed either by a free and Christian Council, general or national, or else by the States of the Empire of the Nation of Germany, gathered together in the Holy Ghost." It is an excellent book, and was compiled, if I mistake not, by the pains and learning of Melancthon and Bucer, and reviewed, examined, and allowed by the elector himself. It treated distinctly of all these heads following:

"That some Lessons might be recited out of the Holy Scripture, before a Sermon, and declared unto the People.

That all Sermons might be made to the magnifying of the Lord Christ.

Of the Trinity.

Of the Creation and Governance of all Things.

Of the Cause of Sin and Death.

Of Original Sin and Man's Weakness before Regeneration.

1547.

- Of the Old Testament.
- Of the Difference of the Old and New Testament.
- Of Preaching peculiar to the New Testament.
- Of the Preaching of Repentance.
- Of the true and proper Use of God's Law.
- A short Exposition of the Ten Commandments.
- Of Remission of Sins and Justification.
- Of good Works.
- Of the true and natural signification of the Word *Faith*.
- Of the Cross and Tribulations of the Church of God.
- Of the Unity and Concord of the Church.
- Of Christian Prayer.
- A short Exposition of the Lord's Prayer.
- Of Abuse in Prayer.
- Of the true and false Use of Images.
- Of Christian Fast.
- Of Holy Offerings.
- A Premonition and Commandment against the Error of the Anabaptists.
- Of the Administration of Religion.
- Of Sacraments generally.
- Of Baptism.
- The Form of a Catechism before Baptism.
- The Exorcism.
- Of the Administration of Baptism.
- How Baptism must be administred at Times and Places prescribed.
- Of Confirmation.
- Of the Lord's Supper.
- At what Time the Lord's Supper ought to be celebrated.
- Of the Communion of Strangers and sick Folk.
- How sick Persons must be visited, and how we must celebrate the Communion with them.
- Of Communion in private Houses for Men in Health.
- Of turning from Sin, and true Repentance.
- Of Excommunication.

Of making of Pastors.

1547.

Of the Blessing of Marriages.

Of Burying on Holy and Feastful Days.

Of Fasting Days and Lent.

Of the Difference of Meats.

Of certain other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church.

Of Ecclesiastical Rites upon Working Days.

Of peculiar Days of Procession.

Of Litany.

Of Common Alms.

Of Schools for Children.

Of Schools of Divinity.

Of Disputation.

By what Means a Christian Reformation of Holy Ministry, and Cure of Souls, may be begun and practised in Parishes.

Of Reforming of Canonical Colleges.

Of the Reformation of Monasteries, both of Men and Women.

Of free and not Monastical Colleges of Virgins.

Of the Order of Cel-brethren and Lay-brethren."

And to open the eyes of the people to see the irreligion of the mass, and to prepare them to desire the abolishing of the same, this same year, 1547, came forth another book, translated into English out of French, written by Anthony Marcort, of Geneva, intituled, "A Declaration of the Mass: the Fruit thereof, the Cause and the Means; (*i. e.* the interim) wherefore and how it ought to be maintained." It was printed at Wittenberg, by Hans Luft. In this book are shewn certain *damnable abuses* that be in the mass, contrary to the holy scripture: and *sundry fruits of the mass*, viz. 1. Multitude of prebends. 2. Multitude of priests. 3. Multitude of temples and chappels. 4. Multitude of altars. 5. Divers oblations and offerings. 6. Worldly riches and pride. 7. Idleness and truantise of the shaven. 8. Multitude of harlots. 9. Feigned hours and prayers. 10. Detestable hypocrisy. 11. Devouring of widows,

p. 28.
Declara-
tion of the
Mass;
printed in
English.

1547. orphans and the poor. 12. Renouncing and destroying of the death and passion of Christ.

And the
disclosing
of the Ca-
non of the
mass.

And about the same season another book, translated in our tongue, appeared abroad, of the same subject, intituled, "The Disclosing of the Canon of the Popish Mass. With a Sermon annexed unto it, of the famous Clerk of worthy Memory, Dr. Martin Luther." In the preface to the reader, he is bid, "To lift up his eyes and behold the abomination of idolatry so shamefully used in those days, and not only used, but with force and maine fortified and upholden with fire and faggot, crudelity and strength; and so sore upholden, that the eternal word of God is clearly banished." And it is called, "The most shameful Mass and Gazing Stock, the Wicked Mass, the Upspring of Satan, the Invention of the Devil, the fair Fruit of the Romish ravening Antichrist, and the Laderhous of all his shaven Posterity." This book, for the concealing the printer, is said to be *imprinted, Have at all Papists, by me Hans Hitprick*. But to come to some other books that now were published by the present authority, and for public use.

The Eng-
lish Para-
phrase of
Erasmus.

The "Paraphrase of Erasmus upon the Four Gospels and the Acts, was now printed in English (for the other parts of the New Testament were not yet finished) having been translated by the procurement and charge of that pious good lady, Katharine Par, Queen Dowager; for the helping of the ignorant multitude towards more knowledge of the holy scriptures, and of their duty towards God and their neighbours. In this work she chiefly employed Nicolas Udal (who called himself her servant) an excellent grammarian and instructor of youth, as well as a learned divine; afterward a prebendary of Windsor: a person he was that devoted himself wholly, during his life, to writing or translating matters that might be of publick profit and use. This, as he declared in one of his epistles dedicatory, he fully minded and intended. Divers select persons were made use of in this translation, that it might

the more speedily and correctly be done, for the common benefit. Udal translated the Paraphrase upon St. Luke: and that which he did besides, was, the digesting and placing the texts throughout all the Gospels and the Acts (except the Gospel of St. Mark, done by another) to the intent the reader might perceive, where and how the process and circumstance of the paraphrase answered to the text, and how it was joined with it. He was rewarded with a prebend of Windsor, anno 1551, and the next year with the parsonage of Colborn, in the Isle of Wight.

1547.
The translators;
Udal.

This Udal, Leland, the antiquarian, honoured with a copy of verses, upon a book that he set forth, anno 1544, called, Flores Terentii, appropriated to the use of learners of the Latin tongue, his scholars; consisting of phrases out of Terence, explained and illustrated by him in English: printed by Berthelet. Before it are these verses of Leland, in commendation of the book and author; which I will take leave here to set down.

p. 29.
Leland's
copy of
verses in
commenda-
tion of
Udal.

Candidus exactam monstrare Terentius artem

Eloquii novit, Roma diserta, tui.

Illius ex horto flores selegit amænos

UDALLUS cupidæ sedulus instar apis.

Quodq; labor pueris studiosis gratior esset,

Transtulit in patrios verba Latina sonos.

Insuper et scholion facundæ munera linguæ

Addidit, æterna vivere digna cedro.

Vos igitur, juvenes, UDALLUM ornate, Britanni,

Sic fluat è vestro comicus ore lepos.

Thomas Key, Registry of Oxford, translated the Paraphrase upon St. Mark, by the motion of Dr. Owen, the king's physician. He was rewarded afterwards, in the year 1551, with the mastership of University College, Oxon, by letters recommendatory from the king.

Key.

The Lady Mary, upon the suggestion of Queen Katharine, employed herself in the translation of the Paraphrase upon St. John: but being cast into sickness, partly by overmuch study in this work, after she had made some progress therein, she left the

The Lady
Mary.

1547. doing of the rest to Dr. Malet, her chaplain. But, certain it is, she took a great deal of pains in it, and went through a good part of it: and perhaps this she did, the better to please the king her father, (for this translation was taken in hand in his time,) who was of opinion, that the knowledge of the scripture should be communicated to the people. The said Queen Katharine, in September, in a letter elegantly penned in Latin, had desired the Lady Mary to get her said translation with all care and diligence revised, and then with speed to send it to her, calling it *Her most fair and useful work*: that so she (the queen) might with the rest commit it to the press; desiring withal to know of her, whether it should be published in her name, or concealed under some unknown author: yet she added, "That in her opinion she would seem to do a wrong to her own work, if she should refuse to commend it to posterity under the advantage of her own name; in which her accurate translation she had gon through so much pains for the public good, and would have undertaken more, had her health permitted. She saw not, she said, why she should reject the praise which all deservedly would give her.

G. H. Yet she left all to her own prudence; as being ready to approve of that most which she thought best to be don." To which I add,

John Old. John Old, who also seems to have been a teacher of youth, as well as a teacher of the gospel, preferred to the vicarage of Cobington, in Warwickshire, by the Duchess of Somerset, at the suit of Hugh Latymer, translated the Paraphrase upon all the Canonical Epistles; and dedicated them to the said duchess, anno 1549. Besides these he translated also seven of St. Paul's Epistles, thus paraphrased, namely; to the Ephesians, the Philippians, both to the Thessalonians, both to Timothy, and to Philemon; which he did at the solicitation of Edward Whitchurch, an eminent printer of church books in this time; who came to him and told him, that none were yet appointed to translate those Epistles, and that it was

Queen
Katharine's letter
to her, in
commen-
dation of
her pains.

p. 30.

necessary the whole volume should be finished and printed off by such a time, (which drew on,) according to the king's injunctions; which enjoined every priest, under such a degree in the schools to read them. Before the Epistle to the Ephesians the translator hath a Prologue to the *Reader*. This man being a Dr. of Divinity, got a prebend in the church of Hereford: but not before the year 1552.

Leonard Cox, a schoolmaster also, and preacher, was the translator of the paraphrased Epistle to Titus; which he dedicated to John Hales, a learned and good man, clerk of the Hanaper.

The Exposition of the Revelations was none of Erasmus's, (neither did he make any paraphrase upon that mysterious book,) but was the work of Leo Jude, writ originally in the German language, and translated into English by Edmund Allen, a learned minister of the gospel, and in nomination for a bishopric in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth.

Who they were that turned the Paraphrase upon St. Matthew and the Acts, and who those on the Epistles to the Romans, the Corinthians, and Colossians, I cannot trace, the translators chusing rather to lie concealed. But I am apt to think Queen Katharine herself might do one at least, and perhaps that upon St. Matthew.

The putting of this Paraphrase into English was undertaken before King Henry's death: for, in 1545, Udal had finished his translation upon Luke, and dedicated it to Queen Katharine; which makes me suppose these Paraphrases were countenanced by that king, and had been set forth by his order, if he had lived.

The whole Paraphrase upon the New Testament was printed at least twice under King Edward. The first edition was, as was said, about 1547, which was only of the Gospels and the Acts. The rest of the New Testament was not so ready for the press, and came not forth till about 1549. The second impression was in the year 1552. Both printed by

1547.

Cox.

Allen.

This work
in hand
under King
Henry.The Para-
phrase
printed
twice.

1547. Edward Whitchurch. The Paraphrase upon the Gospels was ushered in with three Epistles, all composed by Udal: one to the King, another to Queen Katharine, and the third to the Reader. The Paraphrase upon the Epistles, containing the second volume, was dedicated also to the King by Miles Coverdale.

The good contents of the Paraphrase.

Of Erasmus, in this Paraphrase, thus speaketh the aforesaid Udal: "He bringeth in, and briefly comprizeth, the pith of the minds and meanings of all the good doctors of the church, that ever writ, in justification of faith, in honouring God only, in repentance and purity of a Christian man's life, in detesting of imagery, and corrupt honouring of saints, in opening and defacing the tyranny, the blasphemy, the hypocrisy, the ambition and usurpation of the See of Rome; in noting the abuses of all the abominable sects and rabbles of counterfeit religions, and idle cloisters; in bewraying the juggling sleights and fine practices of popery, in choice of meats, in esteeming the difference of days, in manifesting of vain ceremonies, in the colour and pretence of holiness, crept into Christ's church; in reprehending of pilgrimages, with all the circumstances of idolatry and superstition; in describing of a prince's office; in teaching obedience of the people towards their rulers and governors; in declaring a pastor's duty; in shewing the part of an evangelical preacher, and what and how his doctrine ought to be out of the scriptures." But notwithstanding all this good in these paraphrases, yet would the Bishop of Winton fain have suppress them, and wrote earnestly to the protector against them: nibbling against some passages in them.

The Homilies disliked by some.

The Archbishop of Canterbury had taken care to prepare certain pious Homilies to be made and published, with command to be read by such priests as could not preach. That so the poor people might have some means of instruction. But it is strange to consider, how any thing, be it never so beneficial and innocent, oftentimes gives offence. For a great

many, both of the laity as well as the clergy, could not digest these Homilies; and therefore, sometimes when they were read in the church, if the parishioners liked them not, there would be such talking and babbling in the church, that nothing could be heard.

And if the parish were better affected, and the priest not so, then he would "so hawk it, and chop it, (I use the words of old Latimer,) that it were as good for them to be without it, for any word that could be understood." But some priests would indeed read them very well. This ill practice the bishops winked at, and suffered in their dioceses: which was so much known and disliked, that the aforesaid reverend father complained to the king of it, and was a suitor to him, that he would give the bishops charge, ere they went home, upon their allegiance, to look better to their flocks, and to see the king's injunctions better kept. This Book of Homilies was twice printed by Grafton, anno 1547. The latter impression had this advantage, that in some places the English was mended, and the stile corrected and much refined, otherwise the same. Doubtless the first impression was found not sufficient to furnish all the churches and chapels of the kingdom, and for the use of private persons also: and so the book was soon after revised and printed again. Before the book was a preface by the king, with the advice of the Duke of Somerset and the Privy Council, enjoining these Homilies to be read in all churches every Sunday, and the king's injunctions once a quarter.

1547.

Latimer
concerning
these
Homilies.

In his
second ser-
mon before
him.

N. Battely.

No sooner were these Homilies composed and sent abroad, but the news thereof, (and the book itself, as it seemed, already translated into Latin,) came to Strasburgh, among the protestants there; where it caused great rejoicing: and Bucer, one of the chief ministers there, wrote a gratulatory epistle hereupon to the Church of England, in November 1547, which was printed the year after. Therein that learned and moderate man shewed, "How

Bucer's
judgment
concerning
the Homi-
lies.

1547. these pious sermons were come among them, wherein the people were so godly and effectually exhorted to the reading of the holy scriptures; and faith was so well explained, wherby we become Christians; and justification, wherby we are saved; and the other chief heads of Christian religion so soundly handled: and therefore, as he added, these foundations being rightly laid, there could nothing be wanting in our churches requisite towards the building hereupon
p. 32. sound doctrine and discipline." Meaning this as a gentle admonition to excite the governors of the church to a further reformation. "He commended much the Homily of Faith; the nature and force of which was so clearly and soberly discussed; and wherein it was so well distinguished from faith which was dead. He much approved of the maner of treating concerning the misery and death we are all lapsed into by the sin of our first parents, and how we are rescued from this perdition only by the grace of God, and by the merit and resurrection of his Son: and how hereby we are justified in the sight of God, and adopted into the number of his children and heirs: and then shewing what ought to be the study and work of those that are justified and regenerate. So that, he said, by this full and dextrous restitution of Christ's doctrine, his kingdom was so fully explained to the people, that there could no relicks of the old leaven remain long in any parts of our ceremonies or discipline. Then he took occasion to stir up the ecclesiastical rulers to go on with the reformation of the sacraments; that they might be administered according as Christ commended and delivered them to us; that all might partake of Christ's grace and saving communication; as conferring very much to the undoubted restoring of faith and godliness." In this epistle he also praised the English nation, in that God had often given it kings that were great lovers and promoters of good letters and arts, from King Sigebert, that founded Cambridge, and many other schools throughout the land; and particularly had

brought forth King Henry VIII. that most prudent and valiant prince. And that at this day, no kingdom had more truly learned and godly peers and bishops, that exceeded both for their learning and piety. 1547.

To these church-books I add a Catechism, set forth not only by the archbishop's authority, but in his own name. It bore this title, "A short Instruction into the Christian Religion; for the syngular Commoditie and Profite of Children and young People. Set forth by the most Reverend Father in God, Thomas, Arch-bishoppe of Canterbury." This book is but a translation out of Latin, made by a Lutheran author; but there be additions in the English, as accommodated to the English church, which were not in the Latin, but put in, as it seems, by the archbishop: particularly the whole second Sermon (as it is called) on the first Commandment (more truly the second) about *images*. The arch-bishop's Catechism

This Catechism, towards the latter end of King Edward's reign, was printed again, and had the approbation of a convocation. Of this Catechism I have this commendation to add, which Ridley, Bishop of London, gave it in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, before Bourn, secretary of state, Fecknam, Dean of St. Paul's, Mr. Pope, Sir Roger Cholmely, late lord chief justice, and others, that then were with the said Ridley in the Tower: who, when they had in a conference put it to him, that he was the author of that Catechism, though going under the name of Archbishop Cranmer, he told them, "That book was made by a great learned man, and one that was able to do the like again: and that, as for himself, he assured them (and bad them not be deceived in him), that he was never able to do or write any such thing; and that the writer passed him, no less than the learned master his young scholar"—meaning, no doubt, the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Bishop Ridley's character of the author. Fox, p. 1298.

Now did the papists also send abroad their books, to uphold their falling superstitions, and to check, as much as in them lay, the good effects of other books. p. 33.

1547. Richard Smith, D. D. reader of the king's divinity lecture in Oxon, published, "A Defence of the Sacrament of the Mass, printed by John Hartford, 1546." 8vo. Though, but the next year, on the 15 of May, he made a retractation at Paul's Cross; and soon after published, "A Declaration of his Retracting, printed by Reinold Wolf." 8vo.

A book set forth by Dr. Smith.

Two more by Bishop Gardiner.

Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, put out also his "Declaration of such Articles as Geo. Joy had gon about to confute, printed by Ro. Toy, 1546." 4to. And his "Declaration of the Devil's Sophistry, wherein he robbeth the unlearned People of the true Belief in the Sacrament of the Altar, printed by Ro. Toy, 1546." 8vo.

Joy's Refutation.

But in reply to the former, Geo. Joy sent forth his "Refutation of the Bishop of Winchester's dark Declaration of his false Articles, once before confuted." 8vo.

Gerard's Invective.

Lastly, Philip Gerard wrote an *Invective* against those that stopt the free passage of the Bible in English: which was printed by Richard Grafton, 8vo.

The papists strive to stop the king.

And while the protestants laboured to put the king forward to rectify abuses, and to promote a reformation in the church, the papists that were about him laboured hard the other way; representing the superstitions and abuses of religion to him, as fair as possible. As for images, they told him, "That wheras they had been used to be censed, and to have candles offered unto them, none were so foolish to do it to the stock or stone, or to the image itself, but it was don to God and his honor before the image. And in case they had abused, they whispered the king in his ear, and told him, that this abuse was but a small matter; and the same, with all other abuses in the church, might easily be reformed: but it should not be taken in hand at the first, for fear of trouble or further inconveniences. That the people would not bear sudden alterations. An insurrection might be made after a sudden mutation, which might be to the great harm and loss of the realm." These

were just Winchester's arguments, which he used now-a-days to brandish; and I suppose Latimer glanceth at him: "That therefore all things should be well, but not don presently, for fear of further business." And indeed these pretences were the occasion that the reformation went not forward so fast; and they stopped the word of God, and hindred the true setting forth of the same: "There were so many put-offs, so many put-byes, so many respects and considerations of worldly wisdom," saith that plain-speaking preacher. These men he afterwards took occasion to mention in a sermon before the king, calling them *Blaunchers*; and exhorted the king to beware of them.

1547.

Latimer's
sermon of
the Plow.

The people, in the beginning of the king's reign, were very forward in pulling down and defacing images, even without permission. This was done in Portsmouth; where divers crucifixes and saints were plucked down and destroyed. In one church here the image of St. John the Evangelist, standing in the chancel by the high altar, was taken away, and a table of alabaster broken, and in it an image of Christ crucified, contemptuously used, one eye bored out, and the side pierced. The report of this was brought to Gardiner the bishop of the diocese, being then at Wolvesay, some great favourers of images relating it tragically to him. And he, being a great patron of images himself, was much disturbed at it; and writ to Mr. Vaughan, captain of Portsmouth, and the mayor, the king's chief officer there, to know the truth of it, and to consult with them for the reformation of it, out of pretence of discharging his duty. He desired to know of Vaughan, Who were the doers, and what the circumstances of it were? And if it were not too far gone with the multitude, he would send one thither to preach, to stop any further doings of that sort. He said, "That such as were affected with this principle of breaking down images, were hogs, and worse than hogs, and were ever so taken in England, being called *Lollards*. And that the main-

Images
defaced
at Ports-
mouth.

p. 34.

Gardiner
writes thi-
ther about
it.

1547. tenance of this opinion, of destroying images, was utterly disliked in Germany; and such men were counted the dregs cast out by Luther, after all his brewings of Christ's religion. And he (Bishop Gardiner) himself had seen images standing in all their churches." He used also this terrible argument for images, viz. "That the destruction of images contained an enterprize to subvert religion, and the state of the world with it; and especially the nobility: who, by images set forth and spread abroad to be read of all men, their lineage and parentage, with remembrance of their state and actions."

And to the protector.

The protector's answer.

In his zeal also he wrote another letter to the lord protector and council, for redressing this mighty insolence. To which the protector thought fit to make a large reply: wherein he told the bishop, "That neither the facts nor words were so heinous as was brought to his ears: and that those facts that were punishable were already redressed. He reminded the bishop of the times of King Henry, when the Bible was laid aside for a time, upon pretence that some had abused the reading thereof, when as the images were still left to them who had abused them: and more gentleness was used towards those books of images than to the true and unfeigned books of God's word; both being abused, the one to idolatry, and the other to contention. And therefore it seemed meet to him, that what had been abused before might now be abused again, the advantage of some priests, the simplicity of laymen, and the great inclination of man's nature to idolatry giving cause therto."

He goes to Portsmouth himself about this matter.

Nor was the writing of these letters all the Bishop of Winchester did, but he went himself in person to Portsmouth, to inquire after this matter. And because the soldiers seemed to be the persons that had been guilty of this rudeness, upon Captain Vaughan's desire, the bishop made an exhortation to them as they stood there with their weapons marshalled: and so departed in amity with the captains and soldiers

in the town, the captain telling him plainly, that he was nothing offended with any thing he said in his sermon.

1547.

I have two or three passages more to relate concerning this bishop; to shew how bigotted he was to the pope and his superstitions, and how exceedingly nettled at the steps that were now taking in amending corrupt religion. The protector had not long before told him, that he would suffer no innovation: whereupon the bishop took the opportunity now about June to put him in mind of it from Winchester, and advised him, "To leave the realm to the king at eighteen years old, as the king his father left it to him. The act would be honourable and good. And that it were pity to trouble it with any innovation; which would be a charge to his grace more than needed, being already burthened heavily. That the matter of the commonwealth under the king was chiefly his, and as it were his alone; and that every man had his eye directed to him both here and abroad, and he should shadow other men's doings, if they were done: which was one incommodity of high government."

His admonition to the protector.

p. 35.

Bishop Tonsal, who was looked upon as one of the learnedest and gravest men, and of the most experience, went along, at first, with the king and the archbishop in their proceedings. Whereat the said Bishop of Winton made this reflection: "That it was much to be noted, that my Lord of Canterbury, being the high bishop of the realm, and highly in favour with his late sovereign lord, (King Henry,) and my Lord of Durham, a man of renowned fame in learning and gravity, both put by that king in trust, for their counsel, in the order of the realm; should so soon forget their old knowledge in scripture, set forth by the kings majesties book ('The Erudition of a Christen Man,') and give their advice to bring in such matters of alteration in religion, as they had don."

His censure of Cranmer and Tonsal.

There were now two books published by John

1547.
Offended
with two
books of
Bale.

Bale, whereat Winchester was highly enraged, calling them, *pernicious*, *seditionous*, and *slanderous*. Bale's pen indeed was sharp and foul enough sometimes, when he had such foul subjects to deal with, as the cruelties and uncleannesses of many of the popish priests, and prelates, and cloisterers. But of these books our bishop writes from Winchester a long letter of complaint to the protector. One of these books was, "An Elucidation of the Martyrdom of Anne Ascue:" wherein this bishop had the chief hand. His exceptions he took to this book were, that Bale had made Anne Ascue to die a martyr. "Wheras she was," saith he, "a *sacramentary*, and so by the law worthy the death she suffered. And that he had falsly set forth her examination, misreporting it: and that hereby his dead master, King Henry, was slandered, religion assaulted, and the realm troubled." Such a zealous advocate was Bishop Gardiner for his beloved mistress, Popery, now by him apprehended to be in great danger.

Religion
stands yet
without
alteration.

From the beginning of King Edward's reign, hitherto, the old way of worship, and the rites and ceremonies, continued as they had done in the former reign, without, or but small variation. And whatever inclination the king and the protector, the Archbishop of Canterbury and some other of the king's council, had towards a change of divers superstitions; yet they thought fit to tarry for a parliament and a convocation, for the more orderly and effectual doing of it. For they apprehended danger, and some resistance and uproar among the people, if they should presently attempt it of themselves. So the king proceeded no farther in a reformation, as yet, than a royal visitation, and in framing of some injunctions in order thereunto. But notwithstanding many there were that now whispered, and secretly spread abroad in markets, fairs, alehouses, and other places, reports of innovations and changes in religion and ceremonies of the church; and that they were done by the king, the protector, and others of the privy

A royal
visitation.

council. Therefore for the stopping of these false rumours, May 24, a proclamation was issued out against these reporters; assuring the king's subjects, that such pretended innovations were never begun nor attempted by the king and his council. And besides these rumours concerning religion, they also spread bruits of other things and facts, sounding to the dishonour and slander of the king's majesty, the protector, and others of the council, and to the disquieting and disturbing of his subjects. Therefore, for the preventing of these reports, and discovering the talebearers, all justices and other of the king's chief officers in the realm, were, by the said proclamation, commanded to search for them, and imprison them, according to former good acts and statutes of the king's noble progenitors, made to reform and punish, as lewd and vagrant persons, telling and reporting false news and tales. And all persons that heard these reports were by the same proclamation commanded to repair to the court, and declare the reporter, or to some justice of the peace; who was accordingly to commit the reporter to prison, until he had brought forth the author of the said tales, or who told the same to him; and to make further search from person to person; and so to get out the first author, or beginner of the said tales or news.

1547.
A proclamation
against fly-
ing reports.
p. 36.

Commendable care was taken, in the beginning of the king's reign, to perform that part of the king's father's last will; wherein he gave charge for his debts to be paid. And many things there were that had been taken of the subjects by that king's officers, for the service of him and his realm. A proclamation therefore was issued out, May 29, for the payment of the king's father's debts: wherein the king willed all his loving subjects, to whom in this case it appertained, to declare in writing to some certain of his officers, before the feast of St. John Baptist, what remained due unto them, and wherefore; and he, the said officer, to send the said declarations to the lord great master, before the end of Trinity term:

Care taken
for pay-
ment of
King Hen-
ries debts.

By procla-
mation.

1547. to the intent, that upon the knowledge of the certainty of the said debts, the lord protector and other executors of the late king's majesty, might take order for the full contentation of every debt. Which they intended to do accordingly.

Corn, when
allowed to
be export-
ed.
By procla-
mation.

Another proclamation came forth in this month of May, viz. May 16, whereby leave and licence was granted to embark, ship, and carry over the seas, into all outward parts, being in league with the king, all manner of wheat, and all other kinds of grain; so long as a quarter of wheat should not exceed the price of six shillings and eight-pence; the quarter of barley, malt, and rye, five shillings: or unto such time as his highness, by another proclamation under his great seal, should determine the contrary. This liberty of exportation of corn lasted till December 7, when another proclamation, directed to the customers, comptrollers, searchers, and other officers and ministers within the port of London, and all other ports, prohibited it: that whereas wheat and malt, and other grain, exceeded the prices abovesaid, the king's subjects were forbid to transport it from henceforth, without his special licence under his great seal; upon pain to incur all such statutes and proclamations as were provided in that behalf; and to be further punished by imprisonment of body, and otherwise, to the terrible example of all others. But this proclamation did not extend to the prohibiting grain to be carried over to Calais and Boloign, and other the king's places beyond sea.

p. 37.
Queen
Katharin
writes to
King Ed-
ward.

In this month of May, Queen Katharin Par, an ingenious and learned lady, being then at St. James's, out of her affection to the young king, her son-in-law, then, as it seems, at Westminster, writ him a letter, (and that I suppose in Latin,) wherein she professed her true love towards the late deceased king, and her kindness towards him; and lastly, added proper passages taken out of the holy scriptures. And then she earnestly desired some lines from him in answer. Whereupon the king wrote her this elegant Latin

letter; which fell into the hands of Archbishop Parker, (a great collector of curious MSS.) on the top of which he writ these words; 1547.

“ Epistola scripta manu propria Serenissimi Regis Edwardi ad Dominam Katharinam Reginam, Relictam Henrici Octavi.

“ CUM non pocul abs te abessem, et quotidie me te visurum sperarem, mihi optimum videbatur non omnino ad te literas dare. Literæ enim sunt cujusdam et memoriæ et benevolentiae longe absentium signa. Sed ego petitione tua, tandem accensus non potui non ad te literas mittere: primum ut tibi gratum faciam; deinde vero, ut tuis literis respondeam benevolentia plenis, quas è Sancto Jacobo ad me misisti. In quibus primum ponis ante oculos tuum amorem erga patrem meum, nobilissimæ memoriæ regem; deinde, benevolentiam erga me; ac postremò, pietatem scientiam atque doctrinam in sacris literis. Perge igitur in tuo bono incepto, et prosequere patrem amore diuturno, et mihi tanta signa benevolentiae, quæ semper hactenas in te sensi. Et ne desinas amare et legere sacras literas, sed semper in eis legendis persevera.

His answer
to her.
E. Biblioth.
CCCC.
Vol. Intit.
Epist.
Viror.
Illustr.

“ In primo enim indicas officium bonæ conjugis et subjectæ. In secundo ostendis laudem amicitiae tuæ. Et in tertio tuam pietatem erga Deum.

“ Quare cum ames patrem, non possum non te vehementer laudare; cum me ames, non te iterum diligere: et cum verbum Dei ames, te colam et mirabor ex animo. Quare siquid sit quo possum tibi gratum facto vel verbo facere, libenter præstabo. Vale, tricesimo Maii.”

Which, in English, is to this tenor:

“ A letter written by King Edward the Sixth's own hand, to the Lady Katharine, Queen Dowager to King Henry the Eighth.

“ SINCE I was not far from you, and in hopes every day to see you, I thought it best to write no

1547. letter at all to you. For letters are tokens of remembrance and kindness between such as are at a great distance. But being at length moved by your request, I could not forbear to send you a letter: first, to do somewhat that may be acceptable to you; and then, to answer your letter, full of kindness, which you sent me from St. James's. In which first you set before mine eyes your love toward my father the king, of most noble memory: then, your good will towards me: and lastly, your godliness, your knowledge and learning in the scriptures. Go on therefore in your good enterprize, and continue to love my father, and to shew so great tokens of kindness to me, which I have hitherto ever perceived in you. And cease not to love and read the scriptures: but hold out always in reading them. For in the first you shew the duty of a good wife and a good subject; in the second, the praise of your friendship; and in the third, your piety towards God.

p. 38.

"Wherefore since you love my father, I cannot but much commend you: since you love me, I cannot but love you again; and since you love God's word, I will love and admire you from my heart. Wherefore if there be any thing wherein I may do you a kindness, either in deed or word, I shall do it willingly. Farewel, the 30th of May."

The Lady
Mary
writes to
Queen
Katharin.

Queen Katharin's benign and gracious disposition had reconciled her the respect and love of her late royal husband's children: and as the king, her son-in-law, had wrote her a letter in May, so in August she received one from her daughter-in-law, the Lady Mary: who made the Marquis of Northampton, the queen's brother, the bearer, from Beaulieu, the queen being then with child by the Lord Admiral, her husband. Which letter ran to this tenor:

Madam,

Cot. Lib.
Otho C.10.

"ALTHOUGH I have troubled your highness with sundry letters, yet that notwithstanding, seeing my

Lord Marquis, who hath taken pains to come unto me at this present, intendeth to see your grace shortly, I could not be satisfied without writing to the same; and especially, because I purpose to-morrow, with the help of God, to begin my journey towards Norfolk, where I shall be farther from your grace. Which journey I have intended since Whitsuntide, but lack of health hath stayed me all this while; which, although it be as yet unstable, nevertheless I am enforced to remove for a time; hoping, with God's grace, to return again about Mighelmas: at which time, or shortly after, I trust to hear good success of your grace's great belly. And in the mean time shall desire much to hear of your health, which I pray Almighty God to continue and encrease to his pleasure, as much as your own heart can desire. And thus with my most humble commendations to your highness, I take my leave of the same, desiring your grace to take the pains to make my commendation to my Lord Admiral. From Beaulieu this ix of August. Your Highness humble and assured
loving doughter,

MARYE."

CHAP. VI.

p. 39.

Dr. Smith recants. Some account of him and his writings.
Bell-metal not to be transported.

IN the month of May, Dr. Richard Smith, public professor of divinity in Oxon, made a recantation of his popish errors at St. Paul's Cross. And in June one Perrin, a black friar, recanted in the parish church of St. Andrew Undershaft, London: That whereas he had before, viz. on St. George's Day, preached that it was good to worship the pictures of Christ and saints, now he said he had been deceived, and was sorry that he had taught such doctrine. But in Queen Mary's reign they both appeared in the

Smith and
Perin re-
cant.

1547. pulpits, open defenders again of these and the like renounced doctrines.

Dr. Smith
twice re-
cants at
Oxon.
And why.

The story of this Dr. Smith, his recantation, fickleness, flight, and the books he wrote against P. Martyr, take this particular account of: A few days after he had pronounced his recantation, or (as he rather chose to call it) his *retractation*, at St. Paul's Cross, he repaired to Oxford, and there, soon after, came up in public and recanted, as he had done at London. But it seems it was done by him by halves; for instead of declaring at length, plainly and fully, the tenor of what he had said at St. Paul's, he insisted much in shewing his auditory, that what he then said was not so much a *recantation* as a *retractation*; and then took occasion to fall foul upon some that believed not the *real*, that is, the corporeal presence. He wrote also letters to his friends, denying he had made a recantation. This occasioned many persons to talk, that Smith still retained his errors, and trod in his old steps; and therefore, that the recantation he had published either was not his, or that he was forced to it, and did it unwillingly. Therefore Smith came up again publicly in Oxford, not in August (as was mistaken in the Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer) but the 9th of the calends of August, that is, July 24, and then read his whole recantation, *verbatim*, which he had made before at St. Paul's; having first made a large preface, shewing the reasons of his coming up there again. Therein he acknowledged, "That the distinction he had lately made, to the offence of many, between recantation and retractation, was frivolous, both words signifying the very same thing; and that the true reason he had affected the word, was to palliate and excuse his own recantation. That it troubled him, that by that obscurity he should deceive any. And whereas, after his recantation, he had writ and scattered his letters, wherein he laboured to excuse himself to his friends, and dissembled his doings, seeming more studious to preserve his name and credit, than openly to avouch

His pre-
face to his
second re-
cantation.

the true doctrin, he now declared, that all he had afterwards writ in letters, or delivered in his lectures, he renounced and revoked as false and erroneous." And then he proceeds to read the whole recantation, as he had made it before in London.

Which began thus: "Men and Brethren, The holy prophet David left it written, *Every man is a liar,*" &c. The sum of this recantation may be read in the Appendix to Cranmer's Memorials: the whole of it in Peter Martyr's works. In the conclusion of this his recantation, as he had prefaced something before it, so he subjoined something; and this it was, "That wheras some had been offended with an assertion of his about *justification*, which was, that four things were required therein: God's promise, Christ's merits, the worthiness of the person, and of the works: taking what he said of the works of a man already justified, as spoken by him of a man in order to his justifying. But to satisfy all, this he now said, and this he affirmed, That this doctrin, that we are justified by faith in Christ alone, is not new, nor lately found out; but very ancient, taught by the most ancient Doctors Origen, Basil, Chrysostom, and others. That they seclused all the merits of men, however specious, and ascribed to Christ alone the glory and merit of our justification, and to his sacred blood and passion; by which alone we are sanctified, delivered, justified. And that this doctrin was delivered by them for this end, that all glorying might be taken away, and that men should acknowledge their own weakness and infirmity. Yet, that it is not lawful for a Christian to despise good works, or that the Christian life should be slothful and destitute of the fear of God, of hope, repentance, amendment, charity, prayer, fasts, almsdeeds, and other good works; but truly to acknowledge, that when we have don all, we are unprofitable servants, not worthy to have thanks given us for our works; but to confess that we are saved by the mere mercy of God, for the

1547.

p. 40.

Smith declares himself about Justification.

Pa. 1642.
Ed. Basil.
1581.

1547. merits of his beloved Son." And this was the sum of Smith's recantation at Oxford.

He is removed from his professor's place.

But notwithstanding all this that he had done to secure to himself his place of professor, not long after he was removed, and P. Martyr was sent down by the king's authority, and took the chair. At which Smith conceived a secret indignation, and returned to all the popish doctrines that he had revoked; but yet for a while frequented Martyr's lectures, and took notes, as though he had been one of his diligent and glad auditors. But all this was but dissimulation: for it was not long after that he made a great hubbub in the university, and publicly challenged that grave and learned man to a disputation, as hath been related in the Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer; but before the day appointed for it came, he was fled, first to Scotland, as it seems, and soon after to Lovain, where he soon printed his book for the *celibacy* of priests, and *monastic vows*, against P. Martyr, though it were at first designed to go forth against Martin Luther. Which book Martyr answered learnedly, in a just treatise extant among his works; at the end of which treatise he set down Smith's recantation, and a narration of his fickleness divers years past, when he read in the behalf of *justification by faith alone*, one day, Bishop Latimer being his auditor, and against it the very next; and two submissive letters, writ by him to the Archbishop of Canterbury from Scotland.

Pa. 199. Flies to Lovain.

And to Paris, where he printed his book against Martyr. p. 41.

At Lovain he could not tarry long, but departed thence to Paris, where he professed divinity. And here, toward the latter end of the year 1550, he printed a second time his book of the *celibacy of priests*, against Martyr, having gall and bitterness in the very title, which ran thus: "Defensio Sacri Episcoporum et Sacerdotum Cœlibatus contra impias et indoctas Petri Martyris Vermilii nugas et calumnias, quæ ille Oxonii in Anglia duobus retro annis in sacerdotalium nuptiarum assertionem temere effu-

tivit," &c.: that is, "A Defence of the holy Single Life of Bishops and Priests, against the impious and unlearned Trifles and Slanders of P. Martyr Vermilius, which two Years ago he rashly uttered at Oxford in England, upon the Assertion of Priests' Marriages. By Rich. Smith, an English Man, formerly for a great while professing Divinity at Oxford, and now at Paris. Also a short Book by the same Author, concerning Monastic Vows, against the same Martyr, and others of this Sort. Both now the second Time coming forth more correct and exact." And in this second edition also was pretended, by the title-page, to be a refutation of Ponet, who had writ upon this argument; though there be nothing in the book against him, unless now and then in the margin these and such like words: "Huc adverte oculos, Ponete, et errorem agnosce tuum." This book he dedicated to David Haliburton, the head of a college in Scotland (who, I suppose, had entertained him in some of his flights), calling him his best friend, and to whom he was very much obliged. In this epistle he is ready to die in the quarrel of the papal religion, which he stiled *Christ's Faith*; and in his recantation, not long before, he professed himself ready to die for the contrary doctrines: which was a sign he meant to die for neither.

1547.

Collegii
Methuren-
nensis Præ-
posito.

In the said epistle he cried aloud of the troubles of England, as caused by religion: "That the nation was every where afflicted with so great miseries, shaken with so many differences of sects, tossed with so many waves of divers opinions, as scarcely any country ever before was. How many and various popular tumults have heresies (said he) brought forth in our land? What miserable conspiracies have the sects raised, the end of which hath been bloody!" (He means the rebellion in the West, and other countries, which yet was raised and carried on by no other sect than papists; but he, being to be read in a foreign country, would charge, most falsely, these tumults upon the sects and heresies, by which he

Observa-
tions out of
his Epistle
Dedica-
tory.

1547. meant the gospellers). And then he added, "Are not these evils open tokens of God's anger? Doth it not appear hence, that the new-sprung religion is displeasing to God?" In this epistle he ventured his credit to say, "That there were more by twenty times, nay, by a hundred times, in England, that did abhor these sects, and wished for nothing more than that all the heresies were totally overthrown, and that the old religion of Christ, and the ancient rites of worshipping God, might be restored." He added, with as much forehead, and with as little care of truth, "That, of the more learned and pious sort in England, none hitherto joined with the sects, but all such constantly, and with fervent mind and strong resolution, opposed them." Lying notoriously, if in the number of these pious and learned men he reckoned himself and Chedsey, and divers others, that recanted and complied in this reign, though some of them fell off again soon after.

p. 42.
He calum-
niates
Hoper's
preaching.

And mentioning with extraordinary honour the Bishops of Winton and London, Wigorn and Chichester, and some others who had undergone punishments from the state, he closeth up all with a most malicious, lying story, of that reverend man Mr. Hoper, viz. "That after he began to preach in London, about one or two years ago (towards the beginning of King Edward), he was so admired by the people, that they held him for a prophet, nay, they looked upon him as some deity. But that now he was, by the impulse of his own spirit, sunk into the depth of error and ignorance; that he was not content to thunder in his pulpit against all the doctrines of the antient and apostolical church, and to teach his disciples the highest contempt of all the sacraments; to esteem the holy eucharist no more than a wheaten loaf, and the holy wine, but what was prest from the grape; but he must affirm, that by one act of fornication, one designation of adultery, mariage was so dissolved, that he who once had to do carnally with another man's wife, became therby the husband of

that woman; as though (said he) one unclean act alone was the cause of marriage." But as he went on with his story, "To preach these things was not enough for him, unless he added other things more estranged from truth. For which he was called (saith he) before the magistrates; and being brought to the bar, was found guilty, and had sentence pronounced upon him: but when, *crucem commeruit, he deserved hanging* (as he charitably said), he was only silenced, being so gently dealt with, because his judges were of the sectaries, as he was." And then our author presently roars out against the injustice of the judges, and how partial they were. So apt was this man and his party to run away with any silly stories, if they were but black enough to represent protestant ministers as very black men: when, as the true reason why Mr. Hoper was enjoined silence, was nothing else but because he had preached against the *habits*. But Smith will tell you another story of him; that he was guilty of a complication of gross heresies, for so he writes somewhere in the margin of his book: Pag. 60. b. "Legat hæc Hoperus," &c. "Let Hoper read this, who at this time is called into question, and accused of divers horrid heresies. For they report that he defends the heresies of the Arians, Anabaptists, and Libertines." And all this is the entertainment he gave to Mr. Haliburton, in his epistle to him.

In his Epistle to the Reader he speaks boastingly of three books he published about four years before, that in 1546 or 47, viz. 1. His *Defence of the Eucharist* against the *Æcolampadians*. 2. *Of the Sacrifice of the Mass*. And 3. *Of the Traditions of the Church*. But he doth not speak a word how he had himself openly recanted the two latter the same year, 1547, both at London and Oxon. No, that he thought fit to conceal; only bragged, that now in four years no man had answered them; only in pulpits many had ignorantly inveighed against them. But what needed they to be answered, when he himself had done it, by disclaiming and confuting the two latter of them

Observations out of his Epistle to the Reader.

1547. so publicly? And probably he would so have done the first, had he been required. But Œcolampadius's doctrine was not countenanced in King Edward's days.

p. 43. He tells his reader, moreover, what he had printed, so what more he had ready for the press, namely, another discourse against P. Martyr, and such as he; and another of the *Holy Eucharist*, and another of *Purgatory*, and another of the *Images of Christ and the Saints*, and another of *Pulling down Churches*, and another of *Taking away Altars and Wax-candles*; besides theological topics; with other things which he promised in a short time to set forth, if his present published work was not ungrateful to his reader. But whether these pieces ever came abroad I cannot tell; and I suppose they did not, notwithstanding this manner of begging the sale of this book, by promising more to follow.

The book
itself.

As for the book itself, it consists but of three chapters. The first to prove the Celibacy by Scripture, the second by Fathers, and the third to confute the Arguments brought by the Adversaries. The whole book is levelled against P. Martyr; but that he might take in certain others, who had writ for or approved the marriage of priests, as Cranmer, Cox, Ponet, Hoper, he had a very novel way of confuting them, namely, by little short flings at them, ever and anon, in the margin, after this manner: "Licet aliud impiè doceat Thomas Cantuariensis. Lege hoc, Coxe, et resipisce. Huc adverte oculos, Ponete, et errorem agnosce tuum. Lege, Hopere; vide Hopere, ut scias quam fœde lapsus sis in enarrando mandatum Dei septimum:" and many such like. But especially he is plentiful in these marginal mementos to P. Martyr: as, "Quid ad hæc muscites, Petre? Damnatur ergo Petrus. Quid ad hæc vel hisces, Petre? Connives ad hæc, Petre? Redde altissimo vota tua, O Martyr," &c.

I shall take no farther notice of this book, except that towards the conclusion there be base and unman-

nerly reflections upon the good Archbishop of Canterbury, relating to his wife, and his book; where, speaking of an article in the Council of Nice, pretended to forbid marriage to priests, he thus accosts him: "Cur non lectitas hæc synodi hujus sacrosanctæ verba, Thoma Cantuariensis præsul," &c.—

1547.
Reflec-
tions in it
upon the
Archbi-
shop of
Canter-
bury.

"Thomas, Bishop of Canterbury, why do you not read these words of the sacred Council, that you may the sooner and readier acknowledge, how you are detained in an evident error, while you think a wife is lawful for you, whom you have so long abused for the fulfilling of your lust? Do not drive our countrymen from reading this (my) book, as lately you have forbid that my *Confutation* should be read by any, which I lately wrot in English, against that ungodly book published concerning the *Eucharist*. Which plainly sheweth, that you distrust your own cause, and fear lest your blindness and wicked ignorance, and theirs by whose labour that book was patched up, be by any discovered. But what you did hath more hurt than helped your purpose; for what wise man will think your doctrin true, and well defended and fortified with solid reasons, when he should see you so earnestly and diligently labouring, and so anxiously providing, that what is writ against it be not read? Was the Gospel of Christ propagated by such arts as ye now are not ashamed to use? For with you neither learning nor any reasons, how ever solid and enforcing, have any weight; with you all the sacred councils lie contemned; the judgments of the ancients, however pious and learned, are thrown by, and the authority of Christ's church is of no value. Is it not hence, that daily so many abominable sects arise up among you? Whence, I beseech you, are so many Arians, Anabaptists, Libertines; whose heresies, the report goes, John Hoper, our countryman, defends, who so long hath been esteemed among you little less than a prophet? Doth it not proceed from the contempt of the church and the fathers? Take heed that God give you not up to a reprobate

1547. mind; and so by little and little ye fall into most cursed heresies, and make way for antichrist."

Smith's
letters and
fair pro-
mises to
the arch-
bishop.

See them
in P. Mart.
De Vot.
Monast.
p. 1654.

Thus did this man, without fear or wit, let fly at the most reverend prelate, partly to recommend himself the more at Paris, where he now was, and partly to revenge himself upon the archbishop, who, it seems, had not, at his desire and promise of submission, procured him a pardon from the king, and a safe admission into England out of Scotland, whither he had fled. For not long before this, for certain misdemeanors, he seemed to have been committed to the archbishop's custody at Lambeth; where he was by the gentle archbishop used with all courtesy, and received from him many benefits, and particularly satisfaction in the controverted points. But Smith takes this opportunity, and on a sudden secretly made his escape, fled beyond sea, and at length comes into Scotland. Thence, after some time, weary of that country, or that country of him, he addressed to the archbishop his letters from St. Andrew's; one writ in January, and two more in February: "Acknowledging his sudden and rash departure from him, and praying that his grace would forgive the wrongs he had done him, repenting his evil deeds, and that he would obtain for him the king's pardon in writing, for the transgression of his laws in all points, that he might return home again in safety; and promising, that then he would make a just satisfaction for what he had wrot against priests marriage, by writing a book in Latin for it, and that he would willingly embrace all other doctrins lately established. But otherwise, if he continued there where he was a quarter of a year longer, he pretended he must be obliged to write against the archbishop's book of the Sacrament, and to compose a discourse against all King Edward's proceedings; which, he said, he could not with a good conscience do. And then vaingloriously added, that he desired to return home; not so much that he wanted any good livelihood where he was, as because it would be dishonourable to the king and

realm, if he should tarry there." But I do not find 1547.
his return into England, nor a pardon procured for
him. Whereupon I suppose he was as good as his
word, and wrote against the archbishop's book, and
inserted those rude and spiteful lines against him in
the book above mentioned.

In fine, to take our leave of this man, to shew how
giddy and unstable he was all along, and of what a
profligate conscience, whom the papists esteem one
of their best champions in those days, I will relate a
passage of him, which P. Martyr received from one
who was present at the matter. When this publick
reader of divinity, about the year 1537, or 1538,
had understood that Latimer, Bishop of Worcester,
was the next day to pass through Oxford towards
London, and was like to be present at his lecture, he
laid aside his ordinary reading, and for that day read
out of the fifth chapter to the Romans. And then
urged most earnestly the doctrine of justification by
faith alone, without works, without merits, and termed
the faith that justified, *solissima et unissima*. The
bishop, who was then one of his auditors, after he
had done, thanked him, and told him he perceived
he had been mistaken in him, and promised that he
would, as occasion offered, recommend him favour-
ably to the king. But when the same day Dr. Cotes,
and two abbots named King and Masse, and some
other of Bernard College, had argued with him, and
charged him sharply for reading such a lecture, the
next day he, in the same place where he had read
before, revoked all he had said, and asserted quite
the contrary doctrine; and acknowledged, that what
he had read the day before was done out of fear,
being astonished at the presence of so great a man,
and so unusual a multitude of auditors, and praying,
that they would attribute it to his youth; at that time
plucking off his cap, whereby every one saw his grey
hairs, which caused laughter.

Urges jus-
tification
by faith,
before Bp.
Latimer;

p. 45.

And re-
vokes it
the next
day.

England had been largely replenished with bell-
metal since the dissolution of the monasteries; and

1547. vast quantities of it were shipped off for gain. Nor
 Bell-metal was the land yet emptied of it. For now it was
 not to be exported; thought fit to restrain the carriage of it abroad; es-
 nor butter, pecially having so near an enemy of France, that
 cheese, &c. might make use of it for great guns against ourselves.
 Therefore, July 27, a proclamation was issued out,
 forbidding the exportation of that and other ar-
 ticles, lest the enemy might be supplied, and our own
 country and army want. It ran, "To our customers,
 The pro- comptrollers, &c. and other our officers within the
 clamation. port of London, and in all creeks and places to the
 said port belonging, for certain causes and conside-
 rations, us, and our dearest unkle, Edward, Duke of
 Somerset, governor of our person, and of our realms
 and dominions and subjects protector, and other of
 our privy council specially moving, We strictly charge
 and command you, that ye permit, nor suffer to be
 carried, or conveyed out of the said port, or any other
 creeks, any maner of bell-mettal, butter, cheese, tal-
 low, or candles, unto such time as by our letters pa-
 tents sealed, ye shall especially have our farther com-
 mandment for the same; the towns of Calais and Bo-
 loign, and the Marches of the same, always excepted,
 &c. And that upon pain of 200*l.* to be levied of
 your lands, goods and chattels. Dated at West-
 minster." But this proclamation would not effect
 the thing intended, though it were founded upon a
 statute made in the 33d of Henry VIII. The incon-
 venience of having this metal transported being then
 apprehended; which therefore occasioned another act
 of parliament in the second of this king, anno 1548,
 That no person should carry or ship off beyond sea,
 any brass, copper, latten, bell-mettal, pan-mettal,
 gun-mettal, &c. whether it were clear or mixed, tin
 and lead only excepted, upon certain forfeitures there
 set down.

CHAP. VII.

A royal visitation. Injunctions and articles of inquiry. The Bishop of Winchester's behaviour towards it. Consultation of entering into league with the protestants. Pensions. The Lady Mary chargeth the protector about religion. A plague.

NOW a royal visitation was on foot throughout England, wherein this autumn was spent, to look into and regulate the affairs of the church, and of religion. Of which the Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer and other historians speak. I shall add some matters relating to it, omitted by them. The actual order for this visitation was issued out Sept. 1, and during the time the commissioners for the same were employed abroad, the king caused a parliament to be summoned, Nov. 4. They carried along with them the king's "Injunctions" printed, which are ordinarily to be seen: but these were also accompanied with a book of articles, printed at the same time, called, "Articles to be enquired of in the King's Majesties Visitation." These articles were twice printed in the same year by Grafton. They are omitted in Bishop Sparrow's Collections. My late reverend friend, deceased, had one of these books of "Injunctions" and "Articles," and which he verily believed did once belong to Archbishop Cranmer; wherein are certain corrections, as he supposed, of the said archbishop's own hand: as, "High mass" changed thus, "The celebration of the holy communion;"—"Masse and service" changed into "God's service." "Injunction 21," expunged: the latter part of "Injunction 29," also "Injunctions 35 and 36," marked to be expunged. And at the end of the form of bidding the common prayers, is added a prayer for the success of the Duke of Somerset's expedition to Scotland, in order to the effecting of the king's match with the young Queen of Scotland; which prayer is writ by the same hand, and is as

1547.
The king's
visitation.

Articles of
enquiry.

N. Battely.
The In-
junctions.

1547.
A prayer
enjoined
for peace
with Scot-
land.

followeth: "Ye shall also make your harty and effectual prayer to Almighty God for the peace of all Christian regions, and especially, that the most joyful and perpetual peace and unity of this reyalme and Scotland may shortly be profited and brought to pass, by the most godly and happy marriage of the King's Majesty and the young Queen of Scotland: and that it wold please Almighty God to ayd with strength, wisdom, and power, and with his holy defence, all those which favour and set forward the same, and vanquish and confound all those which labour and study to the lett and interruption of so godly a quiet and unity, wherof these two realms should take such a benefyt and profitt: for these and all other," &c.

The com-
missioners'
injunc-
tions.

And besides the king's "Injunctions," the commissioners gave forth particular injunctions of their own to each bishop. Those given to Thomas, Bishop of Westminster, as I find them in the first edition of the "Acts and Monuments," were to this import:

p. 47.

"Injunctions given in the King's Majesties Visitation by us, Sir Antony Cook, Knight; Sir Jhon Godsalve, Knight; Jhon Gosnolde, Esq.; Christopher Newinsone, Dr. of Law; and Jhon Madew, Dr. of Divinity, Commissioners specially appointed by the King's Majesty, to visit the Churches of Westminster, London, Norwich, and Ely; to the Right Reverend Father in God, Thomas, Byshop of Westminster.

Injunc-
tions for
the Bishop
of West-
minster,
Acts and
Mon. first
edit.

"IMPRIMIS, In consideration that above and before all things, such ways and means are to be sought for, wherby the people may learn to know their duties to God, their sovereign lord, and to one another; you shall cause every Sunday divine service to be don and ended in every parish church within the City of Westminster, before nine of the clock the same day, to the intent that the priests and the laity of the city may resort to the sermon to be made in their cathedral church; except they have a sermon made and preached in their own parish churches.

“ *Item*, That whereas by the ignorance of the clergy not only God’s glory is greatly obscured, but also the same clergy much disdained and evil spoken of by some of the laity, you shall cause that every parson, vicar, chantry priest, and other stipendary within the City of Westminster, be present at every lecture of divinity, to be made within the college of St. Stephen; except they, or any of them, have some reasonable let, to be allowed and admitted by your chancellor, commissary, or other officer for that purpose, or the reader of the said lecture. 1547.

“ Also you, your chancellor, commissary, or other exercising jurisdiction ecclesiastical under you, shall proceed in all kinds of causes, *summariè et de plano, sine figura et strepitu judicii*: and shall give sentence in every cause within four assignations after the term, *ad audiendum sententiam finalem*.

“ All which and singular injunctions you shall inviolably observe and keep, upon pain of the king’s majesties displeasure, and as you will answer for the contrary.

“ Given at Westminster, the iii. day of September, in the fyrst yere of the raygne of our Sovereign Lord Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God King of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and in earth, of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, the Supreme Head.

ANTONY COKE,

JHON GODSALVE,

JHON GOSNOLD,

CHRISTOPHER NEWINSON,

JHON MADEW.”

But the “Articles of Enquiry” in this visitation being generally omitted in our historians, I have thought them worthy to be here inserted and preserved.

1547.

p. 48.

“ARTICLES TO BE ENQUIRED OF IN THE KING’S
MAJESTIES VISITATION.

“*For Bishops, Archdeacons, and Ecclesiastical
Officers.*

Printed by
Grafton,
1547.

“*First,* Whether the bishop, archdeacons, and others, having jurisdiction ecclesiastical, have caused only to be sung or said the English procession in their cathedral church, and other churches of their diocess.

“*Item,* Whether the bishop, chancellor, or commissary, archdeacon, or official, be propence and light in excommunicating of men for a little lucre.

“*Item,* Whether they, or any of them, for one man’s trespass, have taken away from the people, and the whole parishioners, their divine service: as for violating and suspending the churchyards, and such like.

“*Item,* Whether they do take excessive sums of money for consecrating again, either of the churchyards, or of any other ornaments for the use of altars, or of bells, where is no need of consecration; but is superstitious and lucrative.

“*Item,* Whether they, or any of them, take any great exactions for institutions, inductions, assignations of pensions, or for any other matter ecclesiastical.

“*Item,* Whether they do lightly call any persons before them, *ex officio*, and put them to their purgation, without urgent suspicion or infamy proved.

“*Item,* Whether the bishop have not preached, without dissimulation, against the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome; and set furth the king’s majesties jurisdiction to be the only supreme power in all his realms and dominions.

“*Item,* Whether the bishop have personally preached in any of the churches, or any where within his diocess; and how often in the year.

“*Item,* Whether he and his officers have diligently

executed, for their part, our late king's injunctions, and his letters missives; for a due order in the religion of Christ: and caused the same injunctions and letters to be diligently put in execution through his diocess. 1547.

"*Item*, Whether he had learned and discreet officers under him; that do, without any respect of persons, punish such crimes as appertaineth to ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

"*Item*, Whether he, or any of his officers, do take any money, or other gifts, to hide and cloak adultery, or any other notorious vice, that ought by them to be punished.

"*Item*, If any commutation of penance have been made to any pecuniary sum. To what purpose the same hath been converted: and what good deeds have been don with the same; and specify the same indeed.

"*Item*, Whether the bishop hath such chaplains about him, as have been able to preach the Word of God; and do the same purely and sincerely. And how oft in the year. And how many they be. What be their names.

"*For Parsons, Vicars, and Curates.*

p. 49.

"*Item*, Whether persones, vicars and curates, and every of them, have justly and truly, without dissimulation, preached against the usurped power, and pretended authority and jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome.

"*Item*, Whether they have preached and declared, that the king's majesties power and authority, and pre-eminence, is, within this realm and the dominions of the same, the most supreme and highest under God.

"*Item*, Whether any person hath by writing, ciphering, printing, preaching or teaching, deed or act, obstinately holden and stand with, to extol, set forth, maintain or defend the authority, jurisdiction, or power of the Bishop of Rome, or of his see; here-

1547. tofore claimed or usurped: or by any pretence, obstinately or maliciously invented any thing for the extolling of the same, or any part thereof.

“*Item*, Whether they have declared to their parishioners the articles concerning the abrogation of certain superfluous holydays; and doen their indeavour to persuade their said parishioners, to keep and observe the same articles inviolably. And whether any of those abrogated days hath sithence the said abrogation been kept as holy days, contrary to the said articles. And by whose occasion they were so kept.

“*Item*, Whether there do remain, not taken down, in their churches, chapels, or elsewhere, any misused images, with pilgrimages, cloths, stones, shoes, offerings, kissings, candlesticks, trindals of wax, and such other like. And whether there do remain, not delayed and destroyed, any shrines, coverings of shrines, or any other monuments of idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy.

“*Item*, Whether they have not diligently taught, upon the Sundays and holydays, their parishioners; and especially the youth, their *Pater Noster*, the Articles of our Faith, and the Ten Commandments in English. And whether they have expounded and declared the understanding of the same.

“*Item*, Whether they have diligently, duely and reverently ministred the sacraments in their cures.

“*Item*, Whether such beneficed men, as be lawfully absent from their dioceses, do leave their cure to a rude and unlearned person; and not to an honest, well learned man, and expert curate.

“*Item*, Whether they have provided and laid, in some convenient places in the church, where they have cure, a Bible of the largest volume in English.

“*Item*, Whether parsons, vicars, curates, chauntry priests, and other stipendaries, be common haunters and resorters to taverns and alehouses; giving themselves to excessive drinking and rioting, and playing at unlawful games: and apply not themselves chiefly to

the study of scripture, teaching of youth, or some other honest and godly exercise. 1547.

“*Item*, Whether they be resident upon their benefices, and keep hospitality, or no. And if they absent and keep no hospitality, whether they do make due distribution among the poor parishoners or no.

“*Item*, Whether they that have yearly to dispend in spiritual promotions, an £100. do not find competently one scholar in either university, or at some grammar-school. And for as many hundred pounds as every one of them may dispend, so many scholars be found likewise. And what be their names. And they so found. p. 50.

“*Item*, Whether they keep their chancels, rectories, vicarages, and all other houses appertaining to them, in due reparations.

“*Item*, Whether they have, every Lent, required their parishoners in their confession, to recite their *Pater Noster*, the Articles of our Faith, and the Ten Commandments in English.

“*Item*, Whether they have counsilled or moved their parishoners, rather to pray in a tongue not known, than in English; or to put their trust in any prescribed number of prayers; as in saying over a number of beads, or other like.

“*Item*, Whether they have preached, or caused to be preached, purely and sincerely, the word of God, and the faith of Christ, in every of their cures, every quarter of the year once at the least: exhorting their parishoners to the works commanded by scripture, and not to works devised by men's fantasies.

“*Item*, Whether in their sermons they have exhorted the fathers and mothers, masters and governors of youth, to bring them up in some vertuous study or occupation.

“*Item*, Whether they have exhorted the people to obedience to the king's majesty, and his officers; and to charity and love one to another.

“*Item*, Whether they have moved the people to read and hear the scripture in English; and have not

1547. discouraged them from reading and hearing of the same. Such as be not prohibited so to do.

“*Item*, Whether they have declared to their parishoners, that they ought to know and understand the *Pater Noster*, the Articles of our Faith, and the Ten Commandments in English, before they should receive the blessed sacrament of the aulter.

“*Item*, Whether they have taught the people the true use of images; which is only to put them in remembrance of the godly and vertuous lives of them that they do represent: and that if the people use the images for any other purpose, they commit idolatry; to the great daunger of their souls.

“*Item*, Whether they have declared, and to their wittes and powers have persuaded the people, that the maner and kind of fasting in Lent, and other days in the year, is but a mere positive law; and that therfore all persons, having just cause, of sickness or necessity, or being licensed by the king's majesty, may temperately eat all kinds of meat, without grudge or scruple of conscience.

“*Item*, Whether your parsons, vicars and curates, have shewed and declared unto you, the true use of ceremonies: that is to say, that they be no workers, or works of salvation; but only outward signs and tokens, to put us in remembrance of things of higher perfection.

“*Item*, Whether they have permitted any man to preach in their cures, not being lawfully licensed thereunto; or have refused or repelled such to preach as have been so licensed.

“*Item*, Whether they which have spoken and declared any thing for the setting furth of pilgrimages, feigned relicks, images, or any such superstition, have not openly recanted the same.

p. 51. “*Item*, Whether they have one book, or register, safely kept; wherein they write the day of every wedding, christening, and burying.

“*Item*, Whether the king's *Injunctions* were quarterly read, or not.

“ *Item*, Whether they have declared to their parish-
oners, whether St. Mark’s Day in the evens of the
abrogated holydays, should not be fasted. 1547.

“ *Item*, Whether the knolling at the *Aves* be
used.

“ *Item*, Whether they have the *Procession Book*
in English ; and in their processions use none other
Litany, but that which is set furth in the same book.
And whether they omit the same English Litany at
any time in their processions. And whether they
have had the same Litany as oft as they were com-
manded.

“ *Item*, Whether they have put out of their church
books this word *Papa* ; and the name and service of
Thomas Becket : and prayers having *Rubrics*, con-
taining pardons or indulgencies ; and all other super-
stitious legends and prayers.

“ *Item*, Whether they bid the beads, according to
the order prescribed by our late Sovereign Lord King
Henry VIII.

“ *Item*, Whether they, or any of them, have been
admitted to their benefices by simony, or by any other
unlawful means.

“ *Item*, Whether in their masses they use not the
collects made for the king ; and make not special
mention of his majesties name in the same.

“ *Item*, Whether they, or any of them, do keep
mo benefices, and other ecclesiastical promotions,
than they ought to do ; not having sufficient licenses
and dispensations therunto. And how many they
keep ; and their names.”

“ ARTICLES *for the Lay People.* ”

“ Whether they know any person that is a letter of
the Word of God to be read in English ; so that it
be meekly, humbly and reverently doen, and without
disturbance of the people ; and by them that have
authority thereto.

“ *Item*, Whether you know any persons, spiritual
or temporal, which do let the word of God to be

1547.

preached; or that the king's Injunctions should not be duely executed.

"*Item*, Whether any person hath obstinately and maliciously, without any just and reasonable cause, broken the laudable customs of the church, commanded to be observed; or superstitiously abused the same; as in casting holy water upon their beads, or other places; and bearing about them holy bread; or making crosses of wood upon Palm Sunday; or blessing with the holy candle: thinking therby to put away sins, drive away devils, dreams, and fantasies: or putting trust or confidence of salvation in the same ceremonies: wheras they be ordained only to put us in remembrance of the benefits which we have received by Christ.

"*Item*, Whether any person, spiritual or temporal, keep the church holy day, and the dedication day, at any time, than is appointed by the ordinance made in that behaulfe by the king's majesty.

"*Item*, Whether Matin Mass, and Even Song be kept in due hours in the church.

p. 52.

"*Item*, Whether any be brawlers, slaunderers, chiders, scoulders, and sowers of discord between one person and another.

"*Item*, Whether any be common swearers and blasphemers of the name of the Lord.

"*Item*, Whether any use lewd, unchast, dishonest, and filthy communication, songs or ballads.

"*Item*, Whether any do use to common, jangle, or talk in the church, at the time of divine service, preaching, reading, or declaring of the word of God.

"*Item*, Whether any do obstinately keep and defend any erroneous opinion, contrary to the word of God, and faith of Christ.

"*Item*, Whether any commit adultery, fornication, or incest; or be common bawds, or receivers of such naughty persons.

"*Item*, Whether you know any that use charmes, sorcery and inchauntments, witchcraft, soothsay-

ing; or any other wicked craft, invented by the devil. 1547.

“*Item*, Whether you know any to be married within the degrees prohibited by the law of God; or that be separated and divorced without any just cause, approved by the law of God: and whether any such have married again.

“*Item*, Whether the church, pulpit, and other necessary things appertaining to the same, be sufficiently repaired.

“*Item*, Whether you know any to have made privy contracts of matrimony, not calling two or more therunto.

“*Item*, Whether any have married solemnly without banns asking.

“*Item*, Whether you know any that have taken upon them the execution of any man's testament; or be admitted to the administration of the goods of the dead; which do not duly distribute the same goods, according to the trust committed unto them: and especially such goods as were given and bequeathed, and appointed to be distributed among the poor people; repairing of highways; finding of poor scholars; or marriage of poor maids. To what uses and intents all such gifts and bequests of cattayl, mony or other things, as in time past were made, for the finding of tapers, candles or lamps, be now employed. And whether to be embecilled and withholden: and by whom.

“*Item*, Whether there be any persons commonly infamed of adultery, fornication, common swearing, blaspheming the name of God, drunkenness, symony, or other notorious crimes; whom the bishop, arch-deacon, or other the ordinaries, for favour, have not corrected accordingly, although they have been sundry times presented, and detected in visitation, or otherwise lawfully accused.

“*Item*, Whether there be any other primers used by them that do not understand Latin, than the English Primer, set forth by the king's majesty. And

1547. whether they that understand Latin do use any other than the Latin Primer, set forth by like authority.

“ *Item*, Whether there be any other Grammar, taught in any school within the realm, than that which is set forth by the king’s majesty.

“ *Item*, Whether they know any alienation of lands, tenements, jewels, or goods, pertaining to the church.

“ *For Chauntry Priests.*

p. 53. “ Whether they be resident upon their chauntries.

“ *Item*, Whether they be aiding and assisting the parson or vicar of the church that they be of, in the ministration of the sacraments and divine service accordingly.

“ *Item*, Whether they keep and perform all such doales and distributions to the poor, and other deeds of charity, as they are bound by their foundations to do.

“ *Item*, Whether they be of ill name, fame, or dishonest conversation: fighters, swearers, drunkards, or incontinent livers.

“ *Item*, What benefices, and how many they have, besides their chauntries. And by what title they do keep the same.”

How this
visitation
was re-
sented.

John Old.
Prologue
before his
translation
of the Para-
phrase
to the
Epistle to
the Ephe-
sians.

This visitation, if we be desirous to know how it was taken, was generally very acceptable to most of the lay-people, and grievous only to the clergy: who could not endure to be unsettled from their old ways and courses in the observances of religion. One, who went with the visitors for their preacher, and was a visitor himself, and well observed matters, and persons in the parts where he came, perceived how the simple vulgar sort were glad; and conformably willing to hear the pure word of God, and obediently to receive the king’s injunctions, training them to the same. And so they were like to continue, in case their ordinary curates and ministers had not been triflers and hinderers thereof, and not been seduced

and taught by seditious ear-whisperers. Nor were even the priests, all of them, these triflers and hinderers, or sinister resisters. For sundry ministers and curates, which he knew, were honest, and diligently well-willing towards the truth, in divers shires, where he waited upon the king's visitors; especially in Lincolnshire and other shires of that diocese. And he reckoned, that the honest sort thereabouts would more and more encrease by the industrious ministry, and uniform concurrence in wholesome doctrine of the Bishop (Holbech,) and Dean of Lincoln (Dr. Taylor.) And the rather, by the helping forwardness of that devout woman of God, the Dutchess of Suffolk.

But there was another sort of priests now taken notice of, who for the safety of their pelf and promotions, employed their studies, and forecasting policies, to please all parties. These were they, by whose occasion the people halted between two opinions, not knowing, what was best for them to follow, whether God or Baal. "These were, as the beforementioned person spake, the messengers of Laodicea: whose works were neither cold nor hot, but betwixt both, smelling neither too much of the gospel, nor too little of popery. But yet they affected to be called favourers of the truth, and would fain have God's corn come up; but yet they dared to sow none any longer than the world, as they said, *made fair weather.*"

But of the clerical sort, that most spighted this visitation, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, made the greatest figure. He wrote a letter to Sir John Godsalue, one of the visitors, signifying his resolution not to comply with their orders; pretending that he could not do it upon the account of honesty and truth: "which were more dear to him, he said, than all the possessions of the realm: and in which he took such plesure and comfort, that he would never leave them for any respects. And that if he might play the last part of his life well, to depart from the

1547.

The dispositions of some priests.

Bishop of Winton refuses to submit to the orders of the visitors.
p. 54.

1547. bishopric without offending God's law, or the king's laws, he should think the tragedy of his life well spent."

P. II. Col- The letter is in the MS. library of Benet College, and
lect. p. 112. is transcribed in the Bishop of Sarum's history.

Orders
certain
proxies to
receive the
visitors.

But notwithstanding this his declared aversion to the visitation (which he also laboured by divers letters to the protector, to obstruct) whether he slipt away from it voluntarily, or was sent for up by the council, he comes to London, and there he intended to stay. But that he might give as little offence as might be, he left his officers as his proxies, in his absence, with command to shew all submission to the commissioners in his (the bishop's) name. So before the visitation in his diocese, (which was there, about October) he went up from his house at Walton: and hearing the visitation should be kept soon after, willed John Seton, one of his chaplains, to do his duty in receiving of them, and obediently to do all such things as by them should be commanded. And he left order with John Cook, his register, whom he had appointed to appear by proxy in his absence, by virtue thereof to go and receive the visitors at Chichester, without the diocese of Winton. Which he did; and conducted and waited on them into the said diocese; and appeared for the bishop in the chapter-house of the cathedral church; and there exhibiting the said proxy, gave an oath, *in animam episcopi*, of obedience to the king's majesty, as supreme head of the church of England, and to renounce the Bishop of Rome's usurped power and jurisdiction. The bishop also required this his proxy, and commanded his chancellor, and other his officers, to attend on the king's said visitors, and to see them with all reverence received and obeyed, and their commandments executed accordingly. Which things were truly performed. And at Alton, when the bishop was going up to the council, a priest of the diocese repaired to him, to consult what he should do at the visitation then at hand: whom the bishop willed to obey all such things as should be commanded by the said

visitors. And likewise at Kingston he gave the like charge to the curate there. All this the bishop, upon his departure, gave in charge in his diocese for obedience and submission, how little soever he liked the visitation. But as for himself, having been before the council about these proceedings of the king, which he shewed no good liking to, he was committed to the Fleet. 1547.

Indeed Bishop Gardiner was the chief champion that now appeared for the Roman Catholic cause; who did exceedingly bestir himself against making any alterations in religion, both by his letters and influence with the protector and others of the court, and by certain books which he wrote, and by this present opposition that he made to the proceedings of the king in this visitation. This temper of Gardiner the gospellers well enough knew, and he wanted not for their good will expressed towards him, in pamphlets, and especially ballads and rhimes which they made against him: of which he complained to the protector. Among the rest there was published a very unlucky one, lampoon-wise, put forth somewhat before this year, not without sharpness of wit and fancy, pretending to take the part of the papists against the preachers, that now began to preach the gospel plainly, and to declaim against the papal superstitions. It was intitled, "A Pore Help: the Buckler and Defence of Holy Mother Kyrke." It began, "Will none in all this land—step forth and take in hand—these fellows to withstand," &c. Setting upon those, and seemingly very angry with them that spake against the old rights of the church, and especially the sacrament of the altar, and that said, "that Christ could not all day be kept within a box, nor yet set in the stocks, nor hidden like a fox, nor be prisoner under locks, nor be cloathed with powdered ermin, nor breed stinking vermin," &c. The poet pretended also to stand up stiffly for the said bishop, who had lately, it seems, published something in rhyme against the gospellers, whose

A poem
now set
forth, in-
titled, A
Poor Help.

p. 55.

1547. name he veiled under the denomination of, "An able clerk of late, and worthy in estate." And described him thus: "He hath been a pardoner, and also a Gardiner; he hath been a vitailer, a lordly hospitaller, a noble teacher, and soso a preacher. The Germain his man was hanged, what then?" Germain Gardiner was his secretary, and executed for high treason under King Henry. A glance is also given in this ballad upon one Miles Hogherd, an hosier, who had wrote a silly book in rhyme against the protestants. But I refer the reader to the Repository, if he be disposed to read this ballad.

I.
Hoper
writeth
against
Win-
chester.

A more serious book was writ against him by John Hoper, and printed in 4to. this year at Zurich, in English, intituled, "An Answer unto my Lord of Winchester's Book," intituled, "A Detection of the Devil's Sophistry, wherewith he robbeth the unlearned people of the true Belief in the most B. Sacrament of the Altar." He dedicated his book to his adversary, the said bishop, beginning his epistle thus, "Your book, my Lord, intituled, 'A Detection,' &c. was delivered to me in Zurich, the 30th of April last: the which I have with leisure and diligence perused, marked your intention, and how ye fence a wrong opinion with many fair words, and divers reasons," &c. It was dated, Tiguri, Sept. 9, 1547.

Consulta-
tion about
joining
with the
German
protestants

In August there was a consultation about the expediency of entering into league with the German protestants; which I make no doubt the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other favourers of the gospel, did press, there having been some agents sent thence hither but the last year. This occasioned Sir William Paget, secretary of state, a wise man, and well exercised in the matters of the English state, to draw up his thoughts, prepared for the council, to be deliberated upon by them, and for resolution to be taken in these affairs. Wherein was shewed, the ill condition of England at the first coming of King Edward to the crown, and the uncertain state

his father left his kingdoms in. It was as follows, 1547.
as I found it in a volume of the Cotton Library.

"The cause of this consultation proceedeth of a
care for the honor and surety of the king's majesty
and his realms, by the continuance and preservation
of his policy, and of his victory. Page's
consulta-
tion.
Titus, B. 2.
p. 91.

"This care cometh upon this, that we see ap-
parently the French king immesurably desirous to
redubb his great dishonour sustained at the king's
hand in the last wars, by the loss of Boloign. And
the Bishop of Rome, with all his members, ardently
inflamed to recover again his usurped power and
tyranny over this realm: and the emperor with all
his power ready to serve the bishop's turn; partly
moved by a corrupt conscience, and partly by am-
bition to reign alone, besides old grudges and dis-
pleasures. p. 56.

"For the defence of these two things, which stand
us so much in hand, it is necessary to make us strong
both at home and abroad. At home, by an establish-
ment of an unanimity among ourselves, and by gather-
ing of riches, as much as may be conveniently, and
with doing some things with little charge above use.
And abroad, by knitting unto us the most sincere and
surest friends we can get, to join with us to the
effect that we desire.

"For the working of that which is to be don at
home, we have commodity enough, and shall have
time sufficient, if it be followed out of hand.

"As for friendship abroad, if that either the
French king might be induced to leave Boloign upon
some honourable condition, or the emperor to leave
the Bishop of Rome, by reformation of his conscience,
to be moved therto both by God's word, and by a
certain and great honour and gain, that should
therby grow unto him; the one of these were best to
serve, or turn against the other: but we see either of
them so affected in his opinion, and by daily experi-
ence know so little faith to be given to any of their
promises, when the breach of the same may serve to

1547. their purpose, as we have cause to be at the point of despair, to find any friendship in either of them longer than they may not chuse.

"The friendship of the Venetian might somewhat serve our turn: for they be very rich and strong, both by sea and by land, and have commodity enough to annoy either the French king or the emperor, if any of them would disturb us: and if the fear of the Turk, by means of the French king, let them not, they are to be thought easy to be moved to enter league with us. For they fear exceedingly the emperor's desire of a monarchy. And yet being well inclined, as it is said, to join in league with us, would do no harm to our purpose, if the matter might be mightily advanced.

"After the Venetians, there resteth only the league of the protestants: wherin, beside the Al-mains, we account Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. These men being now presently in the war, and we in peace, if we should join with them, it shall not only somewhat impair our means to wax rich, but also of our dissembling friends, the emperor and the French king, make peradventure our open enemies, and bearing them both, with the Bishop of Rome at once in our necks, if not now presently, yet when they have, all three joined together, subdued the protestants. For it may be thought, that if we do join with the protestants, the French king shall find some ready way at the emperor's hand, although not effectual in the end, yet for the time, by practice of mariage, or otherwise, pleasant enough to feed the French king withal. And this confederation may follow upon the emperor's only displeasure against us; though he be in no extremity, in case we join immediately with the protestants.

p. 57. "On the other side, if we join not with the protestants, thence it may be thought, that whether the emperor have the gain or the loss, that the French king will join with the protestants: fearing (if the emperor have the gain) the loss of Savoy and Pied-

mont, and shall well see the emperor's gain bought with so great a loss, as there shall remain little to defend him, being somewhat now refreshed; the Turk coming in on the other side, peradventure, with all that he can make; and by these means overtreading the emperor, and so leaving us little help at his hands, and none at the protestants; but rather an enmity, because we forsook being allyed, entred into a certain practice with them, he shall make himself a strong enemy for us. If the emperor have the overthrow, then is it like we will the rather join with the protestants, and staying the Turk, and having little cause to doubt the Bishop of Rome, and no cause to fear us, permitting to us peaceably, for the time, Bulloign, &c. he will convert his whole power, with all the power of Almain, and no small help of Italy, first upon the state of Milain (work surely for the emperor), and consequently turn upon us. 1547.

"So as joyn we, or joyn we not with the protestants, we see what is to be looked for at the French king's hands. Win the emperor, or lose he, and joyn we, or joyn we not with the protestants, we see what is to be feared of the emperor, if he win: the worst is, upon the two occasions, to have them both at once winned together to be our enemies; or the one overcoming, the other to be our enemy with the power of both, having first overcome the other. The best way is both to keep them from agreeing, and from being any of them any greater. If the emperor overcome not the Almain, he is not like to be greater.

"To bring both these to pass, the best way is to agree the emperor and the Almain, by all the means possible. And this don, should be a great stay to and being don by us, should be a great surety to our selves.

"If this cannot be brought to pass, then remain we shall in our former fear and doubt; that for both these quereles, for the pope and Boloign, or for the one of them, we shall have both these princes at the

1547. last, or the power of them both at once upon us. And as it shall be necessary, out of all question, for the greatest part of our strength, to work undelayedly our strength at home; so it is to be considered, whether it be better to have them both at the end upon us, without any friend at all, or both upon us, with such friends as we may make now with little charge.

“ For the following of the best way, the first part is generally to open your intent with moderation to the emperor’s ambassador, and by him to learn, as soon as may be, the emperor’s disposition to give ear to the same: which also may be don by our common ambassador with the emperor, or to both, if it be thought good. If the emperor mislike not the matter, then shall it be well don, upon knowledge therof, to send an express man, not unagreeable to any of both the parts, with such means of reconciliation as may best be devised to move them to the same, with the preservation of their honour.

p. 58. “ In the consultation, whether it were better to join with the protestants, and to have of them such a friend, as we may, rather than none at all, it is to be considered, with what power they may, at their worst, serve you withal, and what at their best, both by land and by sea; and how far forth also we may be entred already with them. WILLIAM PAGET.”

Order for
the pay-
ment of
pensions;

By a pro-
clamation.

In September appeared another point of the honesty of the king’s policy, in taking care of the payment of his father’s debts; unless some will rather look upon it as a device to come to the knowlege of what pensioners were alive, and what dead. The 18th of the said month the king issued a proclamation, to be published in every county, about the payment of pensions, annuities, and corrodies, granted by his father, or by some abbots or priors: That whereas before they were used to be paid by the receivers of the Court of Augmentations, the pensioners were henceforth to receive them yearly at the hand of the treasurer of the said court, or of his de-

puties. And this order to take effect at Michaelmas next. And it was appointed, for the ease of the pensionaries and others, of what house or houses soever they were, to receive their pensions within the shire where they dwelt, at the hand of the said treasurer or his deputies. It was also commanded, that all having these pensions, annuities, and corrodiess, should appear on such a day and place, before the said treasurer's deputies, who were sent down to take notice of their patents and grants, which they were to bring with them and to exhibit: to the intent the said treasurer might be the better ascertained of their states, and of the sums of money he was to appoint to his said deputies, for the contentation of their said pensions. And they were to repair to the place where the king's next audit should be kept within the shire, for the receipt of their pensions. And if any appeared not in person, to send a certificate in writing, under the hands of two justices of the peace, or one justice and one gentleman, declaring the same to be living, and in lawful state to receive his or their pensions.

To the Lady Mary, the king's eldest sister, who was now at Beaulieu, all respects from the court were shewn. She had lately desired two knight's rooms in Windsor; the one to take place presently, the other the next audience: which was granted her by the lord protector. And in October she sent a letter to Paget, the comptroller, that one George Brigus, whose wife brought the letter to him, might be now placed, and have his fee accordingly. Towards Christmas the king invited her most courteously to keep her holydays with him, together with his other sister, the Lady Elizabeth. Yet if she were indisposed in her health, as she had lately been, or if it were any otherwise inconvenient for her to come now, the king very obligingly left it to her liberty, and invited her at any other time, when she pleased herself, to resort to him. This invitation of his by writing

1547.

Respects
from the
court to
the Lady
Mary.

1547. was signed by divers lords of the council, as may be seen by this transcript of it ensuing:

The King
to the Lady
Mary, in-
viting her
to court.
Otho, c. 10.

“Right dear, and right intirely beloved Sister, We grete you well. And wheras our right dear, and right intirely beloved sister, the Lady Elizabeth, having made suit to visit us, hath sithence her coming desired to remain with us during all this Christmas holydays, like as We cannot but take this her request in thankful part, so would We be glad, and should think us very well accompanied, if We might have you also with us the same time. But because the time is now very short, and We be not well assured in what state of health you be, We pray you no otherwise to take this journey upon you, but with such consideration of your health as is meet. And therefore, if for want of the same you may not conveniently repair hither before these holydays, We pray you to do that shall best stand with your quiet and health. And at any other time, when both the time and your health shall better suffer, We will be right glad to see you.

*R. Ryche, Canc. W. Saint John. J. Russel.
Arundel. T. Wentworth.
A. Wyngfeld. Rich. Southwel.”*

She cen-
sures the
proceed-
ings.

Yet she took upon her to censure the king's proceedings, and carried herself with some haughtiness of stomach toward the counsellors for the present management of affairs. Indeed, the stiff papists, such as Bishop Gardiner, were very much offended to see the reformation proceed, as it did, under this good king; and they gave out, that herein the king's ministers, that forwarded these proceedings, brake the late King Henry's will, and were not faithful to their trust. And they set on the Lady Mary (who was of her own nature forward enough to it) to charge these things home to the counsellors. And to this purpose she wrote somewhat sharply to the protector, charging him and the other executors of King Henry's last

Writes to
the pro-
tector.

testament, that they did not faithfully fulfil it by their present doings and proceedings. She told him, that the most part of the realm, through a naughty liberty and presumption, were now brought into such a division, as if they who were the executors of the king's last will, went not about to bring them to that stay that the king their late master left them in, they would forsake all obedience, unless they had their own will and fantasy: and then it would follow, that the king would not be well served, and that other realms would have them of this realm in obloquy and derision; and that not without just cause, as she said. She added, that there was a godly order and quietness left by the king, their late master and her father, in this realm, at the time of his death; and that the spirituality and temporality of the whole realm did not only, without compulsion, fully assent to his doings and proceedings, especially in matters of religion, but also in all kind of talk; whereof she herself could partly witness. The present proceedings she esteemed nothing but *fantasy* and *newfangledness*.

The protector, nettled somewhat with this her letter, in answer told her, "That neither he, nor any other of the executors, as he knew of, would willingly neglect the full execution of every jot of King Henry's will, as far as it might stand with the king, their present master's honour and surety: and otherwise, he was sure that her grace would not have it take place. They doubted not but that their doings therein, and in all other things committed to their charge, should be such as they should be able to answer to the whole world, both in honour and discharge of their consciences. That her words sounded so ill, that he could not persuade himself but she was set on by some uncharitable and malicious persons; of which sort there were, he said, too many. That they were not so simple to weigh and regard the sayings of evil disposed persons, nor the doings of other countries, as to neglect their duty to God, to their sovereign, and native country. And that,

1547.

The protector's answer and vindication of the king's counsellors.

p. 60.

1547. thanks be to God, such had been the king's proceedings, their young noble master, that all his faithful subjects had more cause to render to God their hearty thanks for the manifold benefits shewed to the king, and to the people and realm, since the first day of his reign to that hour, than to be offended with it; and to judge and think that God was contented and pleased with them, the king's ministers, who sought nothing but the true glory of God, and the surety of the king's person, with the quietness and wealth of his subjects.

"That it was so far from a godly and quiet order, which was left by the late king, and that the spirituality and temporality all agreed and assented to that king's doings and proceedings, that, as she might call to remembrance, great were the labours and travails that king had, before he could reform some of those stiffnecked Romanists and Papists, that they caused his subjects to rise and rebel against him. That some of them, viz. the Romanists' sect, within his realm, as well as without, conspired oftentimes his majesty's death; which was manifestly and often proved, to the confusion of some of their privy assisters. He appealed then to her, whether all the spirituality or temporality did fully consent to his godly orders. He put it to her, as well knowing it, if that king did not depart this life before he had fully finished such orders as he minded to have established among his people, if death had not prevented him. And that it was most true, that no kind of religion was perfected at his death, but left all uncertain; most likely to have brought in parties and divisions, if God had not helped. He and others could witness, what regret and sorrow their late master had at the time of his departure, for that he knew religion was not established, as he purposed to have don: and a great many knew, and so did he, what that king would have don further in it, if he had lived." The letter is of that import, and openeth so much the conclusion of that prince's reign, and his mature and last mind in

religion, that it deserves to stand upon record to posterity; and I had entered it here from a Cotton volume, but find it done already by the right reverend author of the "History of the Reformation," among the "Collections."

1547.

Pag. 115.

The plague was this year in sundry places, and among others in the City of Westminster, where the king now was, and a great resort of the nobility and gentry, a parliament being now sitting. Therefore, that as much care as could be might be taken against the spreading of it, and that infected houses might be known, and so avoided, the king therefore, Nov. 18, set forth by proclamation, a charge and command to all persons, inhabiting as well within the said city, as in other places adjoining to the same, in whose houses the said infection reigned, or hereafter should reign, that they forthwith set forth a cross upon their street-doors, whereby the king's subjects might know that the infection was, or had been in their houses: and moreover, that no manner of person, in whose houses the said infection was, or had been, or had resorted to any such infected person, by the space of three months last past, should from thenceforth repair to the court, or suffer any of the attendants of the said court, or other gentlemen's servants, whose masters attended the said court, to enter their house where the said infection of the plague had been; upon pain of his high indignation and displeasure, and farther to be punished, &c.

A plague.

A proclamation about it.

p. 61.

CHAP. VIII.

A parliament. Communion in both kinds enacted. The Act for Chauntries. The abuse thereof. Other acts. Letters and disputations between Bishop Gardiner and Martin Bucer. They and Aless meet together in Germany.

THIS first parliament of King Edward sat November 4, and continued sitting till December 24,

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O

1547. following; when among other memorable things
 The com- which they did, viz. when they had enjoined the sa-
 munion in crament to be received in both kinds, and that the
 both kinds priests should give notice to the people as often as it
 established should be celebrated, and some such things men-
 tioned in the act; the king had certain bishops, and
 other learned divines sitting, to draw an office in
 English, to be used for that purpose: which being
 finished, was called, "The Communion;" and is
 printed in Bishop Sparrow's Collections. This Com-
 munion Book was set abroad the beginning of March,
 with the king's proclamation before it, dated March 8.
 And the privy council sent their letters missive to all
 the bishops, together with the said Communion Book,
 to be distributed to them for their use against Easter
 next: which letters were dated March 13, and signed
 by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Rich. L. chan-
 cellor, L. St. John's, L. Russel, L. Arundel, Sir Ant.
 Wyngfeld, Sir W. Petre, Sir Edw. North, Sir Edw.
 Wotton. Therein it was said, "How the king, upon
 that act of parliament, had caused divers grave and
 learned prelates, and other men learned in the scrip-
 tures, to assemble together; and that they, after long
 conference, with deliberate advice, agreed upon that
 order to be used in all places, in the distribution of
 the holy sacrament." But the issue of this was, that
 there arose a marvellous schism and variety of fac-
 tions, in celebrating the communion service: some
 followed the king's proceedings; others admitted
 them, but did patchingly use but some part of the
 book. But many carelessly contemned all, and would
 exercise their old wonted popish mass.

The words of this law for communicating in both
 kinds, being so properly and well expressed, and the
 penning thereof seeming to me to have been done by
 the archbishop himself, it may not be amiss to take
 some particular notice of it here. The whole act
 was made for three intents, 1. For the checking and
 restraint of many, who, because the sacrament had
 been so abused in former times, to superstition and

1547.
The com-
munion in
both kinds
established

The Com-
munion
Book.

Fox, p.
1184.

How ob-
served.

An act pro-
cured by
Cranmer
for the sa-
crament.

p. 62.

idolatry, began now to speak very irreverently of the sacred ordinance, giving it many rude and ridiculous names. Such, upon information, were to be punished by fine and imprisonment. 2. To bring in a due use of this sacrament among the people, empowering them to receive the cup as well as the wafer, according to the institution of scripture. 3. To break off that unwarrantable practice brought into the church in the corrupt times of it, for the priest to communicate by himself. And it is to be noted of this act, that it was made before the law for the abolishing of the mass. This remarkable act, both of Cranmer's procuring and drawing up too, as I conjecture, began thus:

"The king, perceiving that many arrogant and ignorant men do pervert many things, well and godly instituted; and namely, in the most comfortable sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, commonly called, 'The Sacrament of the Altar,' and in scripture, 'The Supper and Table of the Lord,—The Communion and Partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ.' Which sacrament was instituted of no less author than our Saviour, both God and man, when at his last supper among his apostles, he did take the bread into his holy hands, and did say, 'Take you and eat: this is my body, which is given and broken for you.' And taking up chalice, or cup, did give thanks and say, 'This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many, for the remission of sins.' That whensoever we should do the same, we should do it 'In the remembrance of him, and to declare and set forth his death, and most glorious passion, until his coming. Of which bread whosoever eateth, or, of the which cup whosoever drinketh, unworthily, eateth and drinketh condemnation and judgment unto himself, making no difference of the Lord's body.' The institution of which sacrament being ordained by Christ, as is aforesaid, and the said words spoken of it here before rehearsed, being of eternal,

1547. infallible, and undoubted truth; yet the said sacrament hath been of late marvailously abused by the said persons, contemning the whole thing for certain abuses heretofore committed therein; reviling it, and disputing ungodly of that most holy mystery, and calling it by vile and unseemly words: for reformation whereof, be it enacted, &c.

“ And forasmuch as it is more agreeable, both to the first institution of the said sacrament of the most precious body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and also more conformable to the common use and practice both of the apostles and of the primitive church, by the space of five hundred years and more, after Christ's ascension, that the said holy sacrament should be ministred to all Christian people, under both kinds of bread and wine, than under the form of bread only.

“ And also, it is more agreeable to the first institution of Christ, and to the usage of the apostles, and the primitive church, that the people, being present, should receive the same with the priest, than that the priest should receive it alone.

p. 63. “ Therefore be it enacted by our sovereign lord the king, with the consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That the said most blessed sacrament be hereafter commonly delivered and ministred unto the people, within this Church of England and Ireland, and other the king's dominions, under both the kinds, that is to say, of bread and wine, except necessity otherwise require: and also, that the priest which shall minister the same, shall at the least one day before, exhort all persons which shall be present, likewise to resort and prepare themselves to receive the same: and when the day prefixed cometh, after a godly exhortation by the minister made, (wherin shall be further expressed the benefit and comfort promised to them which worthily receive the said holy sacrament, and danger and indignation of God threaten'd to them, which shall

presume to receive the same unworthily ; to the end, 1547.
that every man may try and examine his own conscience, before he shall receive the same) the said minister shall not, without a lawful cause, deny the same to any person, that will devoutly and humbly desire it," &c.

Another act in this sessions that related to religion, was that which gave the king all the colleges, free chapels, chauntries, hospitals, fraternities or guilds, which were not in the actual and real possession of the late King Henry VIII. to whom the parliament, in the 37th year of his reign, had made a grant of such like colleges, free chauntries, &c. nor in the possession of the present king. By virtue of which act, there accrued to the king all the lands, tenements, rents, and other hereditaments, which had been employed for the finding or maintenance of any anniversary or *obit*, or any light or lamp in any church or chapel. And there were two good causes assigned for this gift to the king. The one was, for the dissolving of superstition, which these colleges and chauntries were found to be great occasions of. The other, for the founding of schools of learning, and providing for the poor ; for so the preamble of the act gives us to understand : " That a great part of superstition and errors in Christian religion had been brought into the minds and estimation of men, by reason of the ignorance of their very true and perfect salvation through the death of Jesus Christ, and by devising and fantasying vain opinions of purgatory and masses satisfactory to be don for them that were departed. The which doctrin and vain opinion, by nothing more was maintained and upholden than by the abuse of trentals, chaunteries, and other provisions made for the continuance of the said blindness and ignorance. And secondly, that the alteration and amendment of the same, and the converting them to good and godly uses (as in erecting grammar schools for the education of youth in vertue and godliness, and for augmenting of the universities, and

The act for
chauntries
to be dis-
solved.

1547. better provision for the poor and needy,) could not in that present parliament be provided and conveniently don; nor could not, nor ought to be committed to any other persons than to the king's highness."

The abuse
of this act
thereby.

But this act was soon after grossly abused, as the act in the former king's reign for dissolving religious houses was. For though the public good was pretended thereby, (and intended too, I hope,) yet private men, in truth, had most of the benefit, and the king and commonwealth, the state of learning, and the condition of the poor, left as they were before, or worse. Of this great complaints were made by honest men: and some of the best and most conscientious preachers reprov'd it in the greatest auditories, as at Paul's Cross, and before the king himself. Thomas Lever, a fellow, and afterwards master of St. John's College, in Cambridge, in a sermon before the king, in the year 1550, shewed, "How those that pretended, that (beside the abolishing of superstition) with the lands of abbies, colleges, and chauntries, the king should be enriched, learning maintained, poverty relieved, and the commonwealth eased, purposely had enriched themselves: setting abroad encloistered papists, to give them livings by giving them pensions, yea, and thrusting them into benefices, to poison the whole commonwealth, for the resignation of those pensions: and so craftily conveying much from the king, from learning, from poverty, and from all the commonwealth, unto their own private advantage." Thus he.

p. 64.

Schools
wronged.

And bringing in grammar schools, which these dissolved chantries were also to serve for the founding of, he told the king plainly, "Your majesty hath given and received, by act of parliament, colleges, chauntries, and guilds, for many good considerations, and especially, as appears in the same act, for erecting of grammar schools, to the education of youth in vertue and godliness, to the furthur augmenting of the universities, and better provision of the poor

and needy. But now many grammar schools, and much charitable provision for the poor, be taken, sold, and made away, to the great slander of you and your laws, to the utter discomfort of the poor, to the grievous offence of the people, to the most miserable drowning of youth in ignorance, and sore decay of the universities." And then, for instance, he mentioned a grammar school founded in the north country among the rude people there (who yet were most ready to spend their lives and goods in serving the king at the burning of a beacon) having in the university of Cambridge of the same foundation, eight scholarships and two fellowships, ever replenished with the scholars of that school. Which school was now sold, decayed and lost: and more there were of the like sort so handled. But this, he said, he recited, because the sale of it was once stayed for charity sake, and yet afterwards brought to pass by bribery, as he heard say, and believed it, because it was only bribery that customably overcometh charity. "For God's sake," as he concluded, "you that be in authority look upon it: for if you wink at such matters, God will scoule upon you."

And whereas also another charitable end of the dissolution of these colleges and chantries, was for the better succour of the needy, it was turned much to their damage and prejudice also. Whereof the same reverend man gave one particular instance, namely, That there were in some towns six, in some eight, and in some a dozen kine given unto a stock for the relief of the poor; and used in such wise that the ordinary cottagers, which could make any provision for fodder, had the milk for a very small hire; and then the number of the stock reserved, all manner of vails beside, both the hire of the milk, and the prices of the young veals, and old fat wares, were disposed to the relief of the poor. "These," he said, "were all sold, taken, and made away. The king bore the slaunder, the poor felt the lack. But who had the profit of such things, he could not tell: but he knew

And the
poor's con-
dition
made
worse.

1547. well, and all the world saw, that the act made by the
 p. 65. king's majesty and his lords and commons of his parliament, for maintenance of learning and relief of the poor, had served some as a fit instrument to rob learning, and to spoil the poor." All this I have said by
 K. L. occasion of the act made this sessions of parliament for chantries.

Private
 acts.

The rest of the public acts made this first session I forbear to mention; the statute books ready at hand to every man will shew them. But the private acts being not so commonly known, because unprinted, and to be found only in the clark of the parliament's office, were these:

An Act assuring Lands (which once belonged to the Church) to the Lord Rich, and others.

An Act for the Establishment of a Deanry at Wells: the old deanry, as it seems, having been swallowed up.

An Act for the Restitution of the Lord Henry Stafford.

An Act for the Restitution of John Lumley, Esq.; and another for the restitution of Griffith Ryce, Esq.

The king
 extolled by
 the gospellers.

The king by this time had made a good step in the reformation of religion. For besides the injunctions and the royal visitation, and an English Communion Book, and the communion to be received in both kinds, the Holy Bible in the vulgar tongue, the Homilies, and the excellent Paraphrase of that great scholar Erasmus, were all now, by the king's command, brought in for the common use of his subjects. Which made the gospellers most highly to extol him, and set forth his deserved praises. Thus one of them styled him, "The High and Chief Admiral of the great Navy of the Lord of Hosts, Principal Captain and Governor of us all under him; the most Noble Ruler of his Ship, even our most comfortable Noah, whom the Eternal God hath chosen to be the bringer of us unto rest and quietness in him.—That he had set up his sail already, and was so well forward of

Mil. Coverdale,
 Ep. Dedic.
 before the
 Engl. Paraphrase of
 the Epist.

his most godly journey, the gracious wind of the Holy Ghost serving him, that it made many a faithful subject of his, according as his calling required, to come after a good pace.—That he was most godly occupied, and continued in stopping up the gapps, that antichrist and his false doctrin had made in the vinyard of the Lord, and in building again the walls of his house, which through idolatry, superstition, evil example, and horrible abuses, had been broken down. That his noble acts and statutes, his proclamations and injunctions testified the same.—And that his godly Homilies, and notable work of Erasmus Paraphrase upon the Holy Evangelists, were worthy to be compared to the rich jewels that Moses used to the pleasant garnishing of the Temple. And as for the Sacred Bible, and volume of God's Holy Book, set forth by his majesty's appointment, to be duly practised in all holy exercises within his churches, as it was the fairest flower of his garden, and the most precious pearl of God's jewel-house, so because his majesty had graciously made them partakers therof, they acknowledged themselves no less bounden to his majesty, than the Israelites were first to their sovereign Moses, for bringing them up out of Egypt, and for setting up the tabernacle; and afterwards to noble King Josias, for restoring them again the Book of the Law."

In the latter days of King Henry VIII. Stephen, Bishop of Winton, wrote two reproachful letters (*Convitiatrices*, as Bucer calls them) against a certain book of the said Bucer, disproving the necessity of *single life*, imposed upon priests and monks; which book he wrot against one Latomus: wherein Bucer endeavoured to prove, from the word of God, and the consent of the true apostolical church, that the doctrin that Latomus endeavoured to defend, as the law of the church, wherby priests were denied mariage, was not a law of the church of God, but rather the pest of laws: wherby all true sanctity, as well of the clergy as the laity, (following the chastity of priests,)

1547.

Bishop
Gardiner
writes
against
Bucer.
p. 66.

1547. was in an horrid maner laid waste. He shewed, what mariage was of itself, an holy state of life, and had that in it, wherby the priestly function was not a little helped. And for that cause the Holy Ghost, among the endowments and vertues of a bishop, set it in the first place, That he should be an husband and a pious father of a family. Against this book Winchester wrot his two letters. His way of answering this book was not by solid answers (as Bucer complained) taken from the authority of God, and of the whole apostolical church, but by nibbling at little words, and snatching some places that might allow of a dubious and uncertain interpretation, wherby to shew how acute and sharp he was in perverting things well spoken, and speaking evil of those that deserved it not.

Bucer answers Gardiner;
Gratulat.
Buceri ad
Eccles.
Anglic.

It was somewhat long before Bucer published an answer to Bishop Gardiner, delaying it till the year 1547. For when he had prepared his answer, by enlarging what he wrote against Latomus, consisting of proofs out of the scriptures, and sentences of fathers, before he put it forth he signified his purpose to King Henry; who returned Bucer this answer, "That he had rather he would defer the publishing it a little longer: for that he hoped he should with a more quiet and sedate mind discourse with Winchester, and other learned men of his kingdom, concerning this and other controversies of religion, to find out some godly reconsiliation, and restoration of the church; which purpose the king feared might be somewhat obstructed, if Winchester, whose sharpness in writing, as he told Bucer, he liked not, should be provoked to write further against him." With this pious and wise answer of the king, Bucer laid aside his purpose of sending abroad the things he writ in his own vindication.

But at length, in the year 1547, in an Epistle to the Church of England, he put forth his answers to Winton's Letters aforesaid, under these four heads:

I. That he did piously and truly affirm, in his former book, that many men were so called to wedlock by God, that they could not receive the truly godly single life for the kingdom of heaven's sake. 1547.

II. That although it were true, that every one could receive this order of holy single life, if he would, as Winchester contended they could, yet what was now required of all that take priesthood, or the monastic life, was against the authority of the antient church.

III. He justified himself, not to have spoke that which was false, as was imputed to him by Winchester.

IV. Concerning the genuine interpretation of that place, "He that standeth firm in his heart, having no necessity, but hath power over his own will, and hath decreed in his heart that he will keep his virgin, doth well." And of some other places, as that, "It is not good for man to be alone." And that, "It is good for a man not to touch a woman." And that, "Because of fornication, let every man have his own wife," &c. p. 67.

It was about three years before the abovesaid bishop wrote his letters to Bucer, that they both happened to meet together: where, in consequence of discourse, they fell into a dispute about this argument. For Bucer, and Alexander Ales, the Scot, coming, whether on purpose or by chance, where Bishop Gardiner was, being then the king's ambassador in Germany, the bishop began to discourse concerning some common principles and means, whereby every man might be convinced of the controverted points of religion. Then the bishop denied that there were any principles and certain way, by which the true doctriens of our religion might be demonstrated, and the contrary refuted; which Bucer asserted, and then brought this place of scripture, 2 Tim. iii. con-

A meeting
of Bishop
Gardiner
and Bucer,
and Ales, in
Germany.
Gratulat.
Buceri,
p. 55.
Edit. 1548.

1547. cluding hence, that the scripture, divinely inspired, was abundantly sufficient to both; as the Holy Ghost there, by St. Paul, testified. But Winchester said, Every one fixed the sense he pleased upon the scriptures; and refused to stand to the interpretation of the antients. Bucer answered, That to those to whom the faith of Christ, and a desire of following the word of God, was not wanting, was easily shewn from the scriptures, what was to be followed in religion, and what avoided. And concerning the sense of scripture in doctrines necessary to our salvation, agreement might with no great pains be made among such, who, by prayer, and a study of godliness, and such like ways, enquired the true sense of scripture, as enquiry is wont to be made into other authors for their sense. But the bishop would not bring the matter into that narrow compass, but asserted, That every one ought to follow that which princes did decree and appoint concerning religion. Then they descended into a dispute of the power of princes in matters relating to religion. And herein this took up a good part of their discourse, that the bishop endeavoured to maintain, That princes did well in punishing the transgression of their own laws more severely than that of God's; which Bucer had laid to the charge of princes: as likewise, that it was held capital to eat flesh a Fridays, whether it were of beasts, fowl, or fish; or if a priest or a monk married a wife, while in the mean time they made a sport to commit adultery and fornication, and to kill themselves and others with their cups. This gave occasion of falling into disputation of that law whereby marriage was forbid to priests: for the retaining of which law, and the punishing the breach of it, the bishop said, the prince had as much power over his subject as the father had over his daughter: and the father, if he pleased, might keep his daughter unmarried: and so it was in the power of princes to command celibacy to priests. Here Bucer urged the restraint of this power, which the Holy Ghost ex-

pressed in those words, "Having no necessity, and having power over his own will." For since none could have power over any other, unless to the edification of godliness, he said, a father had not power from God to keep his daughter unmarried, unless he considered it would be to his daughter's profit, and that he should confer something to her hereby, namely, to her serving of God more readily. But a father was so far from having a power over his own will in this matter, to keep his daughter a virgin, that he had rather a necessity of giving her in marriage. Here Winchester denied, that any necessity was given the father of marrying his daughter from the daughter herself. But Bucer stuck to this principle of scripture, That a father had not power of keeping his daughter, unless he knew it would be for her spiritual benefit; and if he feared it would fall out otherwise, he must bestow her in marriage. These things were argued more at large in the bishop's foresaid letters.

In this disputation (because the bishop in his letter denied that he used any contending in his discourse with Bucer) Bucer could not but take notice of the heat and passion of the bishop, and as a sign thereof, * "How the veins in his hands, the like to which he never saw in any before, did leap and tremble, as often as Bucer said any thing that gave him offence; specially if he heard any such thing spoken by that learned and truly pious divine, Alexander Ales, whom Bucer brought with him to Bishop Gardiner at this conference."

* *Ut venæ in manibus, quod in nullo unquam homine vidi, subsilirent, et tremere, quoties audiret à nobis quod offende-
&c. Gratulat. ad Eccl. Angl. p. 53.*

1547.

p. 68.

Bishop
Gardiner
ed. at
library.Bishop
Gardiner
ed. at
library.

p. 68.

CHAP. IX.

Anabaptists. Bishop Ridley vindicated. Latimer's talk with an anabaptist. Begins to preach. Bishop Gardiner complies with the king's proceedings. Hancock the preacher. His troubles.

1547.
Bishop
Gardiner
set at
liberty.

THIS busy bishop, who had been imprisoned in the Fleet the last day of June, by the council, was, the latter end of this year, by the king's general pardon, set at liberty: but the council asked him, whether he and all his diocese would receive the Injunctions and Homilies lately made. He said he would conform to all, and enjoin his diocese so to do; but he boggled at the Homily of Justification, which was set forth to be by faith, and not by works: and concerning that he desired some days to consider. And to satisfy and persuade him in this point, Bishop Ridley was sent to him.

Ridley mis-
represent-
ed by Gar-
diner.

p. 69.

At this time he and Ridley were appointed to deal with two anabaptists of Kent: for divers of that sect had lately fled from Germany hither; and began to infect the realm with odd and heretical opinions; and particularly spake contemptibly of the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper. So at the same time that Ridley exhorted Gardiner to receive the true doctrine of justification, against which he was very refractory, he prayed him to be very diligent in confounding the anabaptists in his diocese; and that he would be steady in defence of the sacrament against them. This some papist did pervert to such a sense, as though Ridley had spoken of, and approved a carnal presence: and so Bishop Gardiner reported to some in his house, after Ridley was departed. But though Ridley were not for that gross, corporeal, popish presence in the sacrament, yet he approved of treating that holy mystery with all devotion and honour; because there were many in those times, who, that

they might run the farther from popery, gave it little or no respect at all. Wherefore, he, in a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, preached earnestly for giving great reverence to the sacrament: rebuking the unreverend behaviour of many towards it: for there had been fixed upon the cathedral church doors and other places, railing bills against the sacrament, terming it, "Jack in a Box, The Sacrament of the Halter, Round Robin," and such like unseemly terms. Though they meant not these contemptible expressions, I suppose, against the holy supper of our Lord, but only against the papal mass. But upon this occasion Bishop Ridley declared what estimation and reverence ought to be given to this holy institution; what danger ensued the mishandling thereof: and affirmed, that in it there was truly and verily the body and blood of Christ effectuously by grace and spirit. This some then understood again in the gross sense of the papists, though he so meant it not. 1547.

And the more to expose Ridley, when Bishop of London, and to take off his credit, being one of the commissioners, in the year 1550, to examine Bishop Gardiner, the said bishop got leave for certain of the clergy to be deposed on his behalf; to shew, that Bishop Ridley declared himself once for the corporal presence, and afterwards declared against the same doctrine. And what if he had so done? Is it such a crime to forsake an error, after a man hath found it to be so? But let us see the depositions. The first witness was, Maurice Griffith, Archdeacon of Rochester: who deposed, "That Ridley, Bishop of Rochester, the first year of the king, at Paul's Cross, treated earnestly and vehemently of the sacrament; and did set forth the presence of Christ's body there; and called them hogs and dogs, that did irreverently behave themselves touching the same." His second witness was, Thomas Watson, his chaplain; and he deposed, "That he called them worse than dogs and hogs, that would assert the question, How he was there present." And noting the dignity of the

Depositions
against
him.

Acts and
Mon. first
edit.

1547. sacrament said, "That in the primitive times three sorts of people were excluded from the communion, Catechuineni, Energumeni, and Pœnitentes." And this, he said, he preached the first year of the king, in November. And then was George, Bishop of Chichester, deposed, "That in the parliament at Westminster, 1549, the same Bishop Ridley did openly impugn the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament." But so yet, all this came to no more, but that he held a presence, but not after the gross popish way. So that these depositions could not arise to a proof, that Ridley varied in his opinions about the sacrament.

Ridley's
vindication
of what he
had said at
Paul's
Cross.

But this slanderous report got such a vogue among the papists, that Ridley could never after get himself clear of it. And in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, Fecknam, Dean of St. Paul's, had the confidence to relate it publicly in his sermon at St. Paul's Cross, that Ridley once declared himself in that place for a *substantial* change of the bread in the sacrament.

Fox's Act,
p. 1298.

But if we would know indeed what Ridley preached, we may have it from himself, vindicating himself in this matter to Secretary Bourn and Fecknam, in a conference with them in the Tower, shewing them how unjustly and untruly reported he had been, he said, that what he then delivered at Paul's Cross was, "That inveighing against them that esteemed the sacrament no better than a piece of bread, he told his auditors of the Pœnitentes, Audientes, Catechu-
meni and Energumeni, in the primitive times, who were bid to depart when the sacrament was to be administered; and I, said Ridley, bid *them* depart, as unworthy to hear the mystery; and then said to those that were the Sancti, that Cyprian, the martyr, should tell them, how it was that Christ called it, saying, *Panis est corpus, cibus, potus, caro, &c.* 'Bread was the body, meat, drink, flesh of Christ:' because unto this material substance is given the property of the thing whereof it beareth the name. And this (common) place, saith Ridley, I then took to

p. 70.

utter as the time would then suffice, that the material substance of bread did remain." Fecknam heard all this talk of Ridley, as red as scarlet in his face, and said not a word. Yet notwithstanding, Fecknam would afterwards, as occasion served, mention Ridley, as serving his popish purpose. So he told Mr. Hawks, the martyr, in his conference with him, that Ridley in a sermon at Paul's Cross had preached, "That the devil believed better than some among them; for he believed that Christ was able of stones to make bread, but they would not believe that Christ's body was in the sacrament."

1547.

Among other dangerous errors vented now-a-days by the anabaptists, before spoken of, and believed by many honest-meaning people, they held, that after an apostacy from the truth, there was no salvation: and that this was the sin against the Holy Ghost. This put one, about these times, into despair: for he had fallen from the truth known, and after fell to mocking and scorning it. At length, upon some melancholick thoughts, he fell into the hideous condition of desperation, reckoning verily that he had sinned the sin against the Holy Ghost. He repaired unto Latimer, the great divine and casuist at this time, and told him, that "he should be damned, and that it was not possible for him to be saved, for that he had sinned the sin against the Holy Ghost." Latimer did think, that falling away from the truth was indeed the sin meant, of which the scripture said, "It should never be forgiven." But he told the man, "That it was a vehement maner of speaking in the scripture, but was not spoken universally, as though God did never forgive it, but it was commonly called unforgivable, because God seldom forgiveth it. Yet that there was no sin so great but that God may forgive it, and doth forgive it to the repentant heart. And when no argument he could use had any force upon the man, this best quieted him, and took some place with him. But the said good father made this observation hereupon, how seldom this sin is forgiven,

The effect of an anabaptistical error.

Sermon before the king.

1547. in that he knew no more, but that one man that fell from the truth, and after repented, and came to grace again, though he had, as he said, known many, that knew more than he, and some whom he honoured, that after they had fallen from the truth, never, this man excepted, returned to grace, and the truth again.

Robert
Cooke,
anabaptist.

p. 71.

His opi-
nions.

The anabaptists of these days were generally infected also with Pelagianism, and other heresies; they were also very confident and disputacious. One of this sort was now crept into the court, namely, Robert Cooke. He was a person of a very courteous fair deportment, of some learning, and particularly well skilled in music. When Parkhurst (he that afterwards was Bishop of Norwich) was preacher to Queen Katharin Par at the court, he was keeper of the wine-cellar. Here he came acquainted with the said Parkhurst, and also with Coverdale and Dr. Turner, and other learned men in their attendances at the court. This man, besides that he was against the baptism of infants, denied original sin, and concerning the Lord's Supper he dispersed divers odd things. The said Dr. Turner wrote a book against him, in which he confuted his opinion of original sin. He often created trouble to Parkhurst and Coverdale about these controversies, so that they were tired with him; for he was a man full of words. When Jewel, and other learned men, his friends, came sometimes to court to visit Parkhurst, Cooke would presently begin a dispute with them, and would never make an end. This man seems to have been among the exiles under Queen Mary, and became then known to the learned Rodolph Gualter at Zurich; who afterwards, in his correspondence with the said Parkhurst, then Bishop of Norwich, enquired after him; which was in the year 1573. He was then alive, and still in the court, being one of the gentlemen of the queen's chapel. And for his opinions, which he still retained, had some time before been like to have been discharged of his place. But he

made a recantation, and so continued still in his room at the chapel. 1547.

January 1, Dr. Latymer began to preach his first sermon at St. Paul's Cross, and so continued for three Sundays successively at the same place. And on March 7, being Wednesday, he preached his first sermon before the king, in a pulpit set up in the king's privy garden, for the convenience of the auditors. Latimer's first sermon.

Bishop Gardiner being now set at liberty, was ordered to go down to Winchester, to instruct his diocese: which he did, himself receiving and obeying the Book of Service and Orders for Religion, and all the proclamations, statutes, and injunctions, that were then set forth by the king's authority, were observed duely, and quietly kept and obeyed, by the said bishop, and his ministers of the diocese: as it was deposed afterwards by Seton. His servant Basset also testified, that when the bishop came down to Winton (when Basset came also along with him), he lived quietly, and did with all diligence execute all such laws, proclamations, and orders, as were set forth by the king; as the little book of the *Communion* set forth before Easter: which book the bishop caused to be sent abroad within his diocese, with such diligence and haste as he possibly could. And lastly, when he came first down into his diocese, after his delivery out of the Fleet, he preached two sermons, one at Farnham and another at Winton, wherein he exhorted his audience to be obedient to the king's majesty, as their Sovereign Lord and Supreme Head, alleging divers texts of scripture for the same. Bishop Gardiner complies with the king's proceedings.

There was now great care taken that the vulgar sort might arrive to some understanding of religion, which they were for the most part most barbarously ignorant of before. And for this purpose provision was made, that the people might learn in English the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the *Ave*, that used always to be said before in Latin; but especially the Lord's Prayer, commonly called the *Pater Noster*. The vulgar sort to learn the Pater Noster in English.

1547.
p. 72.

And therefore, the better to inculcate it into the memories of the people, Latimer used to say this prayer constantly both before and after sermon, in the country where he was: and when any poor people came to him to ask an alms, he would oppose them with the Lord's Prayer, and bad them say it, and cause his servants sometimes to require them to say it. Many would tell him, they could say the Latin *Pater Noster*, and others, that they could say their *old Pater Noster* (as they termed the Lord's Prayer in Latin), but not the *new*, meaning that in English.

Troubles
of Hancock, the
preacher.

Cranmer's
Memor.
p. 174.

I will now insert a narration of the troubles of one Thomas Hancock, a preacher, who, in the latter time of King Henry, and the reign of King Edward, did much good in Wiltshire and Hampshire, by his diligent preaching the gospel; of whom somewhat was said in another book. In the beginning of King Edward's reign, for preaching against the mass, at Salisbury, Dr. Steward, and Dr. Oking, chancellors to Bishop Gardiner and Bishop Capon, being present, he was required of the mayor to find sureties to answer for his sermon the next assizes; because he pretended Hancock had spoke contemptuously of the sacrament, contrary to a late proclamation (which we shall hear more of by and by), viz. that no nicknames should be given to the sacrament; though he said, for himself, that that which he spake against was not the sacrament, but an idol. But seeing no way but to find sureties, or to go to jail, six honest men were bound for his appearance. What followed upon this, I had rather you should have it from his own full relation, which was in these words:

His relation
thereof.
Foxii MSS.

"When I came to the assizes, Sir Michael Lyster, being lord chief justice, wylled me to have certayn to be bound for me, that I shold not be before the kyng in his proceedings. I making no haste to get my securities, my lord chief justice called upon me very earnestly, that I should get some to be bound for me. The bishop sitting at the bench, I requested

him, that forsomuch as my trouble was for the word of God, that he and his chaplain, one Mr. Reeve, wold be bound for me. My lord chief justice rebuked me, bycause I chose my sureties out of the bench; saying, that yf he wold be my surety, he would not take hym. So I stode styl, not seking any to be bound for me. Wherat my lord was not very well pleased, and said unto me, Why seke ye not some to be bownd for you? I aunsweryd, that I knew not to whom to speak. There was present a woollen draper, one Harry Dymoke, who asked my lord, what the band was? Who awnsweryd, One hundred pounds. He sayd again, that an hundred of them wold be bownd in an hundred pounds for me. Another sayd, that a thousand of them wold be bownd in a thousand pounds for me. Wherat my lord rebuked me, saying, See what an uproar you make among the people. I sayd unto him, I pray you, my lord, lay no such thing to my charge: I stand before you and stir not: it ys God that moveth ther harts thus to speak; I prayse his name for y^t. Then did my lord again enter talk with the above-named Harry Dymoke, and asked hym, whether ten of them wold be bownd in an hundred pounds; for yf one hundred persons should be bownd in an hundred pounds, the names then wold occupy more ink and paper than the obligation. Harry Dymoke answered, that I had no rule of my self in that place (*i. e.* the pulpit), and that they thought that I wold break the band: which yf I shold, that wold greve them to forfeit X pounds a piece; but in that quarrel to forfeit XX pound a piece yt wold never greve them. So was the first band discharged, and my lord bownd ten of them in X pound, and I my self was bownd in XC pound.

"This don, I ryd from Salisbury unto my L. of Somerset hys grace, who lay at that tyme at Syon. I requested hys grace, that I mowght have his letter for the discharge of them that were bownd for me. He cawsed my l. treasurer hys honour, that now is* Sir W. Cecyl.

1547.

p. 73.

1547.
L. Burgh-
ley.
* South-
ampton.

Sarum.

(who than was Master of the Requests), to write to my l. chefe justice for the discharge of the band: which letter, whilst I was with my lord at Hampton* to deliver, the bel rong to the sermon. My lord asked me, whether I mynded to preach? I awnswered, Yea. My lord said unto me, that Hampton was a haven-town, and that yf I shold teach such doctrin as I taught at Sarum, the town wold be divided, and so shold that be a way or a gap for the enemy to enter in; and therefore he commaunded me that I shold not preach. I awnswered, that I wold not take that for a forbydding; but that forsomuch as the people resorted to the church at the rynging of the bel, to hear the word of God, they shold not return home agayn voyd of God's word. My lord sayd agayn unto me, that I shold not preach; and that there was one in the Tower (meaning Bishop Gardiner), that he would beleve before 400 such as I was. I awnswered, that he spake those words betwyxt him and me, but yf I had record of them he wold not speak them. So my lord sent for the maior and his brethren. Mr. Maior asked me, whether I cold be content that another shold supply the room for me? I awnswered, Yea; and that I was as willing to hear the word, as to preach myself. So did Mr. Maior send to one Mr. Gryffeth, who did preach; and my lord being present, he challenged him, that he being chief justice of the land, did suffer images in the church, the idol hanging in a string over the altar, candlesticks and tapers on them upon the altar, and the people honouring the idol, contrary to the law; with much other good doctrin. I praysed God for yt. And thus were my friends of Sarum, that were bound for me, discharged ther band.

The town
of Pole
backsli-
ders.

" This trouble being overcome, another followeth. For after thys, I was called the same year (which was the first year of King Edward) to be the minister of God's word at the town of Pole, in comt. Dorcet. Which town was at that tyme wealthy; for they embraced God's word: they were in favour with the

rulers and governors of the realm : they were the first 1547.
 that in that part of England were called *protestants* :
 they did love one another, and every one glad of the
 company of the others. And so God powred his
 blessings plentifully upon them. But now, I have
 sorrow to set my pen to write yt, they are become
 poor ; they have no love to God's word ; they lack
 the favour and friendship of the godly rulers and go- The affec-
 vernors to defend them : they fell from their profes- tion of a
 sion ; they hate one another ; one cannot abyde the loving
 company of another ; but they are divided amongst pastor
 themselves. ' But, O Lord God, heavenly Father,
 ' which workest all things for the best unto thine
 ' elect and chosen, and art a God of mercy and long- p. 74.
 ' suffering, suffer not that town of Pole, if it be thy
 ' good will, to come to desolation ; but, merciful
 ' God, who hast the harts of all men in thine hands,
 ' and dost turn them whom thou wilt turn, give them
 ' harts to repent, and powr thy blessings upon them,
 ' that they may embrace thy word ; that they may be
 ' not only hearers, but obedient followers and doers
 ' of the same ; and that they may love one another.
 ' And so pour upon them thy blessings, that they may
 ' come, not to a worse, but to a better state, for thy
 ' dear Son Christ Jesus' sake, our only Mediator and
 ' Advocate.'

" I being the minister of God's word in Poole, His sermon
 preaching the word upon some Sunday in the month at Pool.
 of July, inveyed against idolatry and covetousness,
 taking my place out of the sixth of the First of Ti-
 mothy : *Deus immortalis est, et lucem habitat inac-*
cessibilem, quem nemo hominum videt, sed nec videre
potest. The brightness of the godhead is such, that
 yt passeth the brightness of the sun, of angels, and
 all creatures, so that yt cannot be seen with our bodily
 eyes ; *for no man hath seen God at any time and*
liveth : the priest at that time being at mass. Yf
 that be so, that no man hath seen God, nor can see
 God with these bodily eyes, then that which the
 priest lifteth over his head is not God ; for you do

1547. see yt with your bodily eyes. Yf yt be not God, you may not honour yt as God, nether for God. Wherat old Thomas Whight, a gret rych merchant, and a ring-leader of the papists, rose out of his seat, and went out of the church, saying, *Come from hym, good people; he came from the devil, and teacheth unto you devilish doctrin.* John Nothrel, alias John Spicer, following hym, saying, *It shall be God, when thou shalt be but a knave.*

What happened to him there on All Saints Day.

“The same year, in the Day of All Saints, as they call yt, after that I came from expounding some place of the scripture at evening prayer, the above-named Thomas Whight, John Nothrel, and William Haviland, came to the priest, commanding hym that he should say *Dirige* for all sowls, I commanding hym the contrary. They sayd they wold make me to say *Dirige*. I awnswered, Not whyle they lived. Than did all three, with one mouth, cal me *knave*, and my wiff *strompet*: some of them threatning me, that they wold make me draw my gutts after me. The mayor being an honest good man, Morgan Reed by name, thrust me into the quire, and pulled the quire dore fast to me, commanding them to keep the king's peace. But they spared not to call the mayor knave. The mayor had much work to stop this hurly-burly, untill he had got the chefe of them out of the church. So was I driven again to be a sutor to my Lord of Somerset his grace; who willed me to resort to Mr. Cecyl, then Master of Requests, but now L. Treasurer of England. Of whom I had also another letter for my quyetnes in preaching of God's word in the town of Pool. From that tyme I continued in Pool untill the death of good King Edward.”

CHAP. X.

p. 75.

Lands, advowsons, and rectories, settled upon certain churches and bishoprics, deans and chapters. Cheeke and Latymer gratified. Treaties with foreign princes. The king's gifts. The strangers' church at Canterbury. Orders to the archbishop for taking away images.

IN the first year of the king, he took care for the settlement of revenues upon divers churches and colleges, from which either his father had taken their lands, and had not made them recompence by others equivalent (which he yet by his last will required to be done), or he himself to satisfy his courtiers; that so he might maintain religion and learning, by maintaining the estate of the church. Here follow, then, the manors and lands granted by the king, with the considerations why, as I took them from his *Book of Sales*:

May 22. To the Dean and Chapter of Wigorn, in consideration of the lordships and rectories of Grimley and Halowe, and the manor of Hymwyke and Woodhal, in the county of Wigorn, and others, and in performance of King Henry's Will, was granted the rectory of Kemsey, in the county of Wigorn, with the appurtenances, lately parcel of the possessions of Rafe Sadleyr, Kt. and granted to the said King Henry; and divers other manors, rectories, lands, and tenements, in the counties of Wigorn, Gloucester, Lancaster, Hereford, and Bedford. The yearly value whereof was 180*l.* 1*s.* 8*ob.* certain rents reserved.

To the
Dean and
Chapter of
Worcester.

June 3. To Nicolas, Bishop of Wigorn, for the fulfilling King Henry's last will, were granted the advowsons and rectories of the churches of Grimley and Halowe, late parcel of the possessions of the cathedral church of Wigorn, value 14*l.* 1*s.* 11*ob.*

And to the
Bishop
thereof.

The same June 3, to the same Nicolas, in consideration of the exchange of the lordships of Stoke Episcopi and Hernbury, in the Salt Marsh, in the

1547. county of Gloucester, and other possessions in Gloucester, Middlesex and London; and for the fulfilling of King Henry's will, were granted the manors of Grimley and Halowe, parcel of the possessions of the cathedral church of Wigorn, and divers other lands and tenements in Surrey and London. The yearly value 135*l.* 6*s.* 9*ob.*

To the
Bishop of
Coventry
and Litch-
field.

Aug. 20. To Richard, Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, in consideration of the manors of Longdon, Bewdesert, Rugeley, Heywood, Barkswich, and Cannok, and divers other lands and tenements in Staffordshire, and for fulfilling King Henry's will, were granted the advowson of the rectory of Wolstaunton, in the county of Stafford, and the rectory of Belgrave, in the county of Leicester, and of the rectories of Pighesly, Buckby, and Towceter, in Northamptonshire; and divers other advowsons and prebends in the county aforesaid, and within the bishoprick of Bangor. The yearly value whereof was 183*l.* 8*s.* 1*obq.* with considerable rent reserved.

p. 76.

To the
Dean and
Chapter of
Winton.

Aug. 21. To the Dean and Chapter of the Holy Trinity Winton, in consideration of the exchange of the manors of Overton, Alton, Stockton, and Patney, and of the rectories of the two former, in Wilts, were granted the advowson of the rectory of Gresford, within the bishoprick of St. Asaph, and of the rectory of Crockhorn, in the county of Somerset, and the advowson of the rectory of Laugherne, in the county of Cardigan, and the rectories and churches of the same.

Aug. 30. To the Provost and College of St. Mary, at Eaton, for 25. 6. 3. and in performance of King Henry's last will, and in consideration of the exchange of the manors of Milborn Beck, Lutton, and Ponyngton, in the county of Dorset, and divers other lands and tenements, were granted the revenues of Great Compton, in the county of Warwick, lately parcel of the possessions of Thomas Cromwel, Kt. late Earl of Essex, attainted of high treason, and of Bloxham, in the county of Oxon, late parcel of the

possessions of the late monastery of Godsow, in 1547.
the same county, and divers other lands and tene-
ments in the counties of Oxford, Bedford, Lincoln
and Warwick.

Aug. 31. To Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, To the
in consideration of King Henry's promises, and in Archbi-
performance of his last will, and for the exchange of shop of
the manor and park of Mayfield, &c. were granted Canter-
bury.
the rectories of Whalley, Blackburn, and Rochdale, Memorials
&c. as is more at large related elsewhere. of Cranmer.

Sept. 2. To Henry, Bishop of Lincoln, in consi- To the
deration of the exchange of the manor of Dorchester, Bishop of
Cropredy, Wardington, Cotes, Newthorp, Cethorp, Lincoln.
and Burton, in the county of Oxon, and divers other
manors, lands and tenements in the counties of Rut-
land, Leicester, Northampton, Huntingdon, Bedford,
Nottingham, and Lincoln, were granted him the
capital mansion and outward gate of the college of
Thornton, in the county of Lincoln, and divers other
manors, lands and tenements in the counties of Lin-
coln, Leicester, Sussex, Nottingham, Carmarden, with
considerable rent reserved.

About this time, to Robert, Bishop of Oxon, for To the
the fulfilling King Henry's last will, were granted the Bishop of
rectories of Welsford, Sibbertoft, and Overton, with Oxon.
the appurtenances in the counties of Northampton
and Leicester, and the manors of Medley, Hoke-
norton, and Watlington, in the county of Oxon, and
divers other lands and tenements in Oxon, Bucks,
London, and Berks, to the yearly value of 391*l.* 1*s.* 5*ob.*
Rent reserved, 37*l.* 14*s.* 9*ob.* to commence from the
Feast of the Annunciation, an. 38 Hen. VIII.

Sept. 27. To the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, To the
London, in consideration of the manor of Roumwel, Dean and
in Essex, and of the manor of Drayton, in Middlesex, Chapter of
and divers other lands, tenements, and rents, and in St. Paul's.
full execution of King Henry's last will, was granted
the advowson of the rectory of Charing, in Kent,
and the chapel of Egerton in the same county, and
the manor of Mockyng, in Essex, lately parcel of the

1547. possessions of the late monastery of Berkyng in the said county, and divers other lands and tenements in Kent and Essex. Rent reserved, 12. 1. 3.

p. 77.

To the
Dean and
Chapter of
Winsor.

Octob. 7. To the Dean and Canons of the King's Free Chapel of St. George, within the Castle of Winsor, as well for the fulfilling King Henry's last will, as for exchange of the manor and rectory of Iver, and of the manor of Damary Court, and divers other lands and tenements, to the said King Henry given and made over, and divers others surrendered by the said dean and chapter, were granted the rectories and churches of Bradnynch, Northam, Iplepen, Assington, and South Molton, in the county of Devon, and divers other manors, rectories, lands and tenements in Devon, London, Wilts, Gloucester, Kent, Surrey, Cornwall, Middlesex, Oxon, Bucks, South Wales, Brecon, Carmarthen. Rent reserved, 4. 2. 8. and 18. 7. 9.

To the
Dean and
Chapter of
Thornton.

The same date. To the Dean and Chapter of the Collegiate Church of Thornton, in Lincolnshire, in consideration of the manor of Carleton, in the moor land, in the county of Lincoln, and divers other lands and tenements in the same county, were granted the advowson of the rectory of Flamsted, in the county of Hertford, and the advowson of the rectory of Holme, in Spalding, in the county of York.

The
Church
of Nor-
wich new
founded.

Nov. 5. For the erection or founding of the Deanry and Chapter of Norwich, was granted the scite of the late Cathedral Church of Norwich, with all its ancient privileges, and all the jewels and implements of the said church.

To the
Dean and
Chapter of
Norwich.

Nov. 9. To the Dean and Chapter of the Church of the Holy Trinity, in Norwich, were granted in perpetual alms the manors of Hindoleston, Newton, Catton, Pookethorp, Eaton, Taverham, Aldeby, Ambringale, Worsted, Dyllaham, and divers other manors, lands and tenements, in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, York, Lincoln, Norwich, Kent. And the time of the issues was from the time of the dissolution

of the cathedral church of Norwich. Rent reserved 1547.
was 89*l.* 11*s.* 5*ob.*

For it may be here marked, that this church of Norwich continued a monastery of prior and monks to the second day of May, An. Reg. Henrici 8, xxx^o. At which time the said King Henry translated them from a prior and convent into a dean and chapter, as by his letters patents appear. By virtue of which letters patents they continued a dean and chapter, and held all the lands to the late prior and convent belonging, till the 3d of June, anno 1 Reg. Edw. VI. At which day and time the said dean and chapter, for certain causes them moving, did surrender into the hands of the said King Edward, all their said church, and all and singular their lands and rights whatsoever. Whereupon the said king, in the month of November aforesaid, did anew erect and found the said church, by the name of "Ecclesiæ Sanctæ et Individuæ Trinitatis Norwici ex Fundatione Reg. Edward VI." and did endow it with all and singular the lands, &c. aforesaid; reserving to himself the rent above mentioned: which Queen Elizabeth, by letters patents remitted, saving 50*l.* by year. The reason the dean and chapter thus surrendered their church, seemed to have been, because they doubted of the title of their settlement by King Henry; the bishop of the diocese, who was the founder of the priory in succession, not having given his consent to the translation of the said priory into a dean and chapter: which flaw afterwards caused great trouble to this church under Queen Elizabeth.

At Christmas I find the king's uncle, Sir Thomas Seimour, Lord Admiral, the Queen Katharin Par being at Enfield, gratified Mr. Cheke, the king's careful instructor, with a gratuity of twenty pounds, giving him also twenty more for the king, to dispose among his servants that good time. Thomas Cheke, knowing probably the ambitious and designing nature of the admiral, was very loth to take his gift, but he prest it upon him.

How this church came to be founded by King Edward.

p. 78.
The Lord Admiral gratifies Cheke.

1547.
The king
gives
20*l.* to
Latimer.

The Lent following Latimer preached before the king, and his majesty, being minded to bestow some royal gift upon the preacher, sent to his said uncle for money, and for his direction what he should give him : whereupon he sent the king forty pounds, with advice to bestow half thereof upon Latimer, and the other half as gratuities among his servants.

Treaty
concluded
with
France ;

That which was done abroad this year was the securing of a good understanding with the king's neighbours. Thus a treaty was entered between King Edward and K. Francis of France, for taking away all occasions of strife and contention about the limits of the new conquests of Boloign and Boloignois : which treaty was agreed, sealed and delivered by the commissioners on both sides ; and immediately after that king died, and Henry II. his son, succeeded, who soon violated that treaty, as shall be seen hereafter.

And the
Emperor.

There was also a treaty of peace, sealed Jan. ult. between King Edward and Charles V. Emperor of Rome ; to whose care and friendship King Henry his father, on his deathbed, recommended his son, the said King Edward.

The king's
gift this
first year.

In this first year of the king, the courtiers got away from him a great number of fair lordships and manors, on pretence either of services, or for making good King Henry his father's last will, or by way of purchase for disproportionable sums of money, made in consideration of former services, and in complement of the deceased king's will. These lands thus given and granted, were for the most part such as had belonged to monasteries and religious foundations, or bishopricks. In this manner were these persons following gratified : Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Rich, Marquis of Northampton, Earl of Southampton, Lord S. John, Lord Russel, Lord Clynton and Say, the Lord Seimour, Gertrude Lady Courtney, Sir William Paget, Sir William Herbert, Sir Thomas Pope, Sir John Bridges, Sir Rafe Sadleir, Sir Thomas Cawarden, Sir John Gates, Sir

Book of
sales.

Richard Lee, Sir Rafe Fane, Sir Richard Mannours, 1547.
 Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir Francis Brian, Sir Anthony
 Denny, Sir Anthony Brown, Sir Philip Hoby,
 knights, Thomas Denton, John Harrington, Richard
 Cotton, Edward Waldgrave, Tho. Paston, Henry
 Thompson, Ger. Harmond, Richard Cecyl, esquires,
 and others. It would be too long to set down what
 lands and estates were past over to each of them par-
 ticularly; which otherwise might be done.

I find divers outlandish learned and godly men this
 year at Canterbury: among the rest there was John
 Utenhovius, a person of honourable rank and quality,
 afterwards elder and assistant to John a Lasco's
 church in London. Here was also Valerandus Pol-
 lanus, and one Franciscus; and the year after Bucer
 was here. Now, I conjecture, were the beginnings
 of the foreigners' church planted in Canterbury, by
 the countenance and influence of Archbishop Cran-
 mer. There was a loving correspondence held be-
 tween the said Utenhovius here and P. Martyr now
 at Lambeth. In one of his letters wrote to him this
 year, he had desired Martyr to let him know the state
 of religion, how it stood at that time in the land;
 about which, in the winter of the year 1547, there
 being then a parliament and a convocation, both were
 mainly employed. Martyr wrote him an answer, by
 a letter dated Jan. 15, and superscribed *Nobili Viro*
D. Utenhovio, "That as yet he knew nothing deter-
 mined, but that all the most knowing men bid us be
 of good heart, and give hopes that the matter will
 succeed very well. God grant," added he, "that it
 may so happen speedily and quietly. *Reverendis-*
simus noster et strenue et maxima cum laude bono-
rum, pugnat:" that is, "Our most reverend friend
 and father the archbishop contends for it strenuously,
 and with the greatest praise of good men." And
 whereas Utenhovius had writ to Martyr, that they
 had at Canterbury, *Conciones intra parietes, et con-*
ventus pios, i. e. Sermons and godly meetings within
 their own walls. Martyr makes only this remark

The begin-
 ning of the
 strangers'
 church at
 Canter-
 bury.

p. 79.

E Biblioth.
 Eccl. Belg.
 Lond.

1547. thereupon, that he doubted not, the devil envied these beginnings.

In the year after this, viz. 1548, P. Martyr wrote another letter, dated Sept. 21, from Oxford to Utenhovius at Canterbury, with the archbishop there, removed thither for the plague that then was in or about London. In this letter there was not much besides a friendly correspondence, and the signification that he had wrote a letter to Dr. Ponet the archbishop's chaplain, about the business Utenhovius had desired him. With this letter Martyr told him, he had sent three French crowns in gold borrowed of him: (which I suppose he did upon his first coming to Canterbury after his arrival in England.) And concluded, wishing him and all the holy brethren with him, health and welfare in the Lord.

The council to the archbishop for taking away images.

Images in churches had been so grosly abused, and such idolatry and superstition committed by the means of them, that it was in the king's *Injunctions* commanded to the visitors to remove them every where, wheresoever they had been abused by pilgrimages, censings and offerings. Which was yet not so fully done, but that still they remained in many places, there being great strife and contention about them. For the old priests were loth to part with these their figures painted and drest: and many were desirous to retain all, how grosly soever they had been abused. In some places where they were taken down, they were set up again, after the visitors were gone away. The great pretence of those that were so tender of these images, was, that some of them had not been abused, and that such and such had not been offered unto, nor censured. And such stir was made about them, that tumults were likely to arise. And it was observed, where images were left, there was most contest, and most peace where they were all sheer pulled down, as they were in some places. Therefore in the month of February the council wrote to the archbishop, "That the lively images of Christ might not contend for dead images, which were

things not necessary, and without which the church of Christ continued most godly many years." Therefore they signified to him, that it was the king's pleasure, with the consent and advice of his council, that all images should be removed out of churches and chapels in his diocese; and that he should signify the same to be done unto all the bishops within his province. This was dated from Somerset-place, and signed by the Lord Protector, the Lord Russel, the Lord Arundel, Sir Thomas Seimour, Sir Anthony Wyngfeld, and Sir William Paget. And accordingly the archbishop (who no question moved for it) sent a copy of this letter, with his own command thereupon, speedily issued out, to Edmund, Bishop of London. I do not here transcribe the council's letter, as it is in Cranmer's Register, because it is done already in Bishop Burnet's History.

1547.

p. 80.

CHAP. XI.

Sundry wholesome orders of the king for religion. For the communion. For Lent: innovation forbid. The Book of Common Prayer drawn up: enacted. The Psalms in metre. The good progress of the reformation. The revenues of the church struck at.

1548.

WE shall now shew some farther cares of the young king and his uncle, the protector, for the good estate of religion, and for keeping the heady people of both persuasions from running into exorbitances.

1548.

There were not a few, who, towards the declining of this year, did more openly and commonly than before, speak of the Holy Sacrament with much contempt; which, to speak the truth, the former idolatrous and superstitious doctrines thereof had given great occasion to: so that men condemned in their hearts and speech the whole thing, and reasoned unreverently of that high mystery: and in their sermons, or readings, or communication, called it by

Unseemly
talk and
dispute of
the sacra-
ment
forbid.

1548. vile and unseemly terms. They made rhimes, and plays, and jests of it. And this occasioned chiefly by the misuse of it: as it is expressed in the act of parliament of the first of Edw. VI. cap. 1. Therefore was that act of parliament made, being the very first act of this king. And to back this act, especially when these contemptuous dealings with the sacrament continued still, and ceased not, the king sent forth a severe proclamation, December 27, against these irreverent talkers of the sacrament; which I believe Archbishop Cranmer and Dr. Ridley between them were the composers of. This proclamation mentions the aforesaid act, calling it, *A good and godly Act*, and that it most prudently declared, by the words and terms of scripture, what is to be believed and spoken of the said sacrament. With which words and phrases of scripture the king required all his subjects to acquiesce. And to put a stop to those frequent and common disputes and wranglings concerning the manner, nature, or ways, the possibility or impossibility of those matters, and those superfluous questions and enquiries that many made; as,

p. 81. "Whether the body and blood of Christ was there really or figuratively, locally or circumscriptly, and having quantity and greatness, or but substantial and by substance only, or else but in a figure and maner of speaking? Whether his blessed body be there, head, legs, arms, toes, nails, or in any other shape or maner, naked or clothed? Whether he be broken or chewed, or he be always whole? Whether the bread be there, as we see, or how it departeth? Whether the flesh be there alone and the bloud, or part, or each in other, or in the one both, in the other but only bloud; and what bloud? that only which did flow out of his side, or that which remained?" Being not contented reverently to accept and believe the said sacrament, according to the saying of St. Paul, "The bread is the communion, or partaking, of the body of Christ, and the wine, likewise, the partaking of the bloud of Christ:" and that

the body and bloud of Christ is there; which is our comfort, thanksgiving, and love-token of Christ's love towards us. 1548.

Therefore the king, by this proclamation, did strictly forbid any such contemptuous talking of this mystery, or openly to argue, preach, or affirm any more terms of the sacrament than be expressed in the holy scriptures, and mentioned in the aforesaid act; until the king, with the advice of his council and clergy of the realm, should set forth an open doctrine thereof, and what terms and words may justly be spoken thereby. But that in the mean time his subjects should take the holy bread to be Christ's body, and the cup, the cup of his blood, according to the purport of the holy scripture. And yet the king declared, that he allowed the ignorant to learn quietly and privately, and to demand of such as knew more, farther instruction in the said blessed sacrament: so it were done not in contention, nor in open audience, nor with a company gathered together. Nor, did he prohibit any man hereby quietly, devoutly and reverently, to teach and instruct the weak and unlearned, according to the better talent by God given to him.

And finally, the justices were to apprehend and take all such as did contentiously and tumultuously, with companies or routs, dispute, argue or reason, maintain or define the questions before mentioned. This is the sum of this notable proclamation. *Vide* M. the Repository.

This sort of men, that thus disrespectfully carried themselves towards the sacrament, had as little opinion of Lent, and the keeping of it, supposing it to be a papal incroachment upon the liberty of Christians, to whom all meats were lawful. But the king, as he required the strict observation of this antient ecclesiastical custom, and other fasting times, by a proclamation dated Jan. 16, so therein, to satisfy all persons, was shewed the lawfulness and convenience thereof to be observed in his realm. It is well

The king commands the keeping of Lent.

1548. drawn up, and by the pen, I suppose, of the archbishop, or some of his divines. In the preface it is expressed, "How the king had the only cure and charge of his realms, not only as a king, but as a Christian king, and was supreme head of the Church of England and Ireland. That he had a desire and will to lead his people in such rites, ways and customs, as might be acceptable to God, and the farther increase of good living. That his subjects now had a more perfect and clear light of the gospel, through the infinite clemency and mercy of God, by the means
- p. 82. of his majesty and his most noble father: and should therefore in all good works increase, and be more forward, as in fasting, prayer, and almsdeeds, in love, charity and obedience, and such like good works commanded in scripture: but that alate, more than before, a great part of his subjects did break and contemn that abstinence, which of long time had been used in this realm upon Fridays and Saturdays, and the time of Lent and other accustomed times. That the king therefore was constrained to see a convenient order therein. He minded not that his subjects should think there were any difference in days, or meats, or that the one should be to God more holy and pure than the other. For all days and meats were of equal purity, and in and by them we should live to the glory of God. That for all times and meats we should give glory to him; of which none can defile us at any time, or make us unclean, being Christian men, to whom all things be holy and pure: so that they be not used in disobedience and vice. But notwithstanding the king allowed and approved these days and times before accustomed, to be still kept in the Church of England, that men should on these days abstain from their pleasure and meats wherein they had more delight, to subdue the body unto the soul and spirit. And also for worldly and civil policy, to spare flesh and use fish, for the benefit of the commonwealth; where many be fishers, and use the trade of living. And that the nourish-

ment of the land might be encreased by saving flesh; and especially at spring time, when Lent doth commonly fall, and when the most common plenteous breeding of flesh is. And that divers of the king's subjects had good livings and riches in uttering and selling such meat as the sea and waters did minister to us. And that therefore the realm had more plenty of ships and boats for the following that trade of living. Besides, that men of their own minds did not give themselves so oft as they should do, to fasting and abstinence. And upon these considerations, the king commanded all persons, of whatsoever state and degree, to observe and keep from henceforth such fasting-days, and the time of Lent, as had been heretofore used in the realm. But the king, as the king his father had don, did upon weighty considerations give licence to his subjects, to eat white meats in the time of Lent, that is, butter, eggs, cheese," &c. The parliament that sat the next year converted this order for observation of the fasting-days into a law, which contains the very words of this proclamation. Which is inserted in the Repository.

1548.

N.

But notwithstanding these orders for the keeping of Lent, I cannot but take notice what extravagant licences were granted sometimes by the king's patents, for dispensing with the observation of it. As in the year 1551, Jan. 10, a licence was granted to the Lord Admiral Clinton to eat flesh. "Cum quibuscunque cum eo ad suam mensam convalescentibus, omnibus diebus jejunalibus quibuscunque:"—"And all others that should eat at his table with him, on all fasting days whatsoever." Another license under the king's seal, dated Feb. 24, 1551, was granted to John Samford, of the city of Gloucester, draper, that he, with two of his guests at his table, might eat flesh and white meats during all the Lent, and all other fasting days in the year; and this license was during his life. And the next Lent, viz. in the year 1552, a patent was granted to Gregory Railton, one of the clerks of the signet, to eat flesh with four in

Large licences dispensing with Lent.

p. 83.

1548. his company during his life. Another licence for the lord treasurer, the Marquis of Winchester, and Elizabeth his wife, and to their family and friends, coming to the said Lord Marquis his house, not exceeding the number of twelve guests, during his and his wife's natural lives in the times of Lent, and other fasting days, to eat flesh or white meats, notwithstanding the statute of abstinence from flesh; as the licence ran, dated March the 19th. And another, dated March 11th, was granted to John a Lasco, superintendent of the church of strangers within the city of London, and to every one else whom he should invite to his table for society sake; that to him and every of them, during his life, in Lent and other fasting times, it might be lawful to eat flesh and white meats freely, and without punishment, at their own will, any statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

Innovation
and
preaching
without li-
cence for-
bid.

Now several preachers and laymen, lovers of the gospel, and labourers after a reformation of the old superstitions, had of themselves begun changes in their parish churches; laying aside the old rites and orders, and had brought in new ones, according to their own judgments and opinions, conformable I suppose to the practice of the foreign reformed churches; but different from, and beyond the Injunctions lately sent abroad from the king. He therefore issued out a proclamation, dated Feb. 6, therein charging these men with pride and arrogancy, and commanding that no person should omit or change, or innovate any orders or ceremonies commonly used in the Church of England, and not commanded to be left off in his father, King Henry's reign; or than such as the present king, by his visitors and Injunctions, had already, or hereafter should command to be omitted. And this he was moved to enjoin upon this consideration, as the said proclamation imports, that nothing tended so much to the disquieting of the realm as diversity of opinions, and variety of rites and ceremonies in religion and the worship of God: declaring, how he had studied all ways and means to direct the

church, and cure committed to his charge in one most true doctrine and usage. And by virtue of the same proclamation none were to preach without licence from the king, or his visitors, or the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the bishop of the diocese (except it were a bishop, a parson, a vicar, a curate, a dean or a provost in their own cure) upon pain of imprisonment, and other punishments. This proclamation also will be found in the *Repository*. 1548.

Likewise, March 8, following, when the Communion Book was published, the king in his proclamation before it, to satisfy those that thirsted so much for a reformation, "Advised them to stay and quiet themselves with the king's directions, as men content to follow authority, and not enterprizing to run afore: and so by that rashness become the greatest hinderers of such things, as they, more arrogantly than godly, would seem by their own private authority, most hotly to set forward. And by these means he might be encouraged from time to time further to travail for the reformation, and setting forth such godly orders, as might be to God's glory, and the edifying of his subjects, and advancement of true religion. Nor would he have his subjects so much to mislike his judgment, nor mistrust his zeal, as though he could not discern what were to be done, or would not do all things in due time." O. Forbid again. And the king promises a reformation. p. 84.

But notwithstanding these proclamations, and that he had divers other times before and since endeavoured to stop the use of other forms and rites in the worship of God, yet these his commands and endeavours would not prevail, but even in cathedral as well as other parish churches, various different ways of service were used, as well in the morning and evening prayers, as in the office of the communion, and in the administration of the other sacraments. At length the king bore with this which he could not well remedy; calling it, "The frailty and weakness of his subjects:" and he abstained from punishing those that offended in that behalf; because his highness took, (as is ex- Notwithstanding various forms are used.

1548.
An. 2 Ed.
6. ca. 1.

pressed in his Act of *Uniformity*,) that they did it of a good zeal. But for the preventing the evil that might ensue of these varieties, he appointed the Archbishop of Canterbury, and certain other bishops and learned men, to consider the premises, and with respect to the scriptures, and to the usages of the primitive church, to draw out a convenient Order, Rite and Fashion of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments; which was accordingly done by them at Windsor, and prepared to be confirmed and enacted by the parliament that sat November 24, 1548; when the use of it was by law enjoined, and to commence at Whitsuntide following, which was in the year 1549. And by that act all those who had of their own wills used other forms or innovations, were pardoned.

The papists
regret the
Common
Prayer.

Yet it passed not without some struggling and opposition made against it by the old *papalins*. How illy they digested it may be seen by this passage: while, in the days of Queen Mary, George Marsh, of the North, (afterwards martyred for the gospel,) was in examination before the Earl of Darby and divers others, and having said, that as he had ministered under King Edward, so, if the laws would have suffered him to minister after that sort, (that is, by the Book of Common Prayer,) he would minister again; presently one, who was the parson of Grampnal, in Lancashire, threw in this word, "This last communion was the most devilish thing that ever was devised."

Fox,
p. 1419.

Four lords
protested
against it.

To the establishment of this book but four lords protested; of which I have this passage to relate: When the said Marsh had told the Earl of Darby, that he hoped he would not condemn him for that reformation, which he was one of the makers and establishers of under King Edward, saying, "That his trust was of that his lordship, being one of the honorable council of the late King Edward, and agreeing to his actions concerning faith towards God and religion, would not so soon after consent to put

poor men to death for embracing the same; he answered, "That he, with the Lord Winsor and the Lord Dacres, and one more, did not consent to those actions, and that the *may* of them four would be to be seen as long as the parliament house stood." 1548.

This act, being the greatest stroke struck against popery, and for throwing out the mass, may deserve some particular observation. It was called, "An Act for the Uniformity of Service, and Administration of the Sacraments throughout the Realm." The book confirmed by this act was the Second Office in English, that came forth in this reign, the Communion Book being the first; which was composed in pursuance of an act in the year 1547; enjoining the receiving of the Lord's Supper in both kinds, and that the people should receive with the priest, as most agreeable to the first institution of the Lord's Supper, and more conformable to the practice of the church for the first five hundred years. For the drawing up of the Exhortations, and other prayers, to be used on that occasion, the king appointed certain bishops and other learned divines, with the Archbishop of Canterbury; and this being finished in English, was called the Communion Book; which was printed by Grafton, and published 1547, as was shewn before. The Communion Book. p. 85.

The same bishops and divines, as it seems, were soon after appointed by the king to draw up a general Public Office in English, in the room of the Latin Mass-Book; who accordingly met in May, 1548, and in the latter end of the year it was confirmed by parliament, as above was said; being intitled, "The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England." From the act which was made for the use of it, I gather divers matters historical concerning it. The Book of Common Prayer.

First, That before this book came forth, there was no uniform service in this church, but a great variety of forms of prayer and communion; some of older date, and some more lately followed. For example,

1548. there was a form according to the use of Sarum, which some churches followed; and another form according to the use of York, which other churches followed; and another according to the use of Bangor, and another of Lincoln, followed by other churches. And those that liked not any of these popish forms, and Latin prayers, used other English forms, according as their own fancies led them.

Secondly, That those who used these latter forms (the old ones yet remaining in force) the king and the protector forbad; calling them *innovations* and *new rites*, and divers times assayed to stay the using of them, but could not. Wherefore afterwards they thought fit to connive at them for a while.

Thirdly, For the preventing of this different serving of God, (for by it great divisions and contentions happened,) the king resolved to have one form of prayer composed to be only used, and none other, throughout his realm. And that this might be drawn up after the best manner, he, the protector, and divers of his council, nominated and culled out certain bishops and other learned men, to be employed in this business; men of that eminency in learning and piety, that they were called in the act, "The most learned and discrete bishops and divines; whereof the Archbishop of Canterbury is mentioned, but none else. But the rest of them, (if we may give credit to Fuller's Church History, and what is commonly taken up and reported in our histories,) were Day, Bishop of Chichester; Goodrich, Bishop of Ely; Skyp, of Hereford; Holbeach, of Lincoln; Ridley, of Rochester; Thirleby, of Westminster; May, Dean of St. Paul's; Taylor, Dean of Lincoln; Haines, Dean of Exeter; Robertson, Archdeacon of Leicester, and Prebendary of Sarum; Redman, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Prebendary of Westminster; and Cox, Almoner to the King and Dean of Westminster, and Christchurch, Oxon: though I conjecture the main of the work went through some few
p. 86. of these men's hands: for three of those bishops,

Thirleby, Skyp and Day, protested against the bill for this liturgy, when it passed their house. And I believe Robertson and Redman liked it as little. 1548.

Fourthly, The rules they went by in this work was, the having an eye and respect unto the most sincere and pure Christian religion taught by the holy scriptures, and also to the usage of the primitive church.

Fifthly, The book being finished, they delivered it to the king, which is said to be "To the great comfort and quietness of his mind."

Sixthly, As for the work itself, as it is said to be done, by one uniform agreement, so also "By the aid of the Holy Ghost:" such was the high and venerable esteem then had of it.

Lastly, The parliament, both lords and commons, the representatives of the whole kingdom, had such a value for the whole composure, "That they gave unto the king most hearty and lowly thanks for it, and for his most godly travail in collecting and gathering together the said archbishop, bishops and learned men, and for the godly prayers, orders, rites and ceremonies in the said book; and considered the honour of God and the great quietness, which, by the grace of God, would ensue upon it: and finally, concluded the book such, that it would give occasion to every honest man most willingly to embrace it."

Let me moreover take notice of a proviso in this act concerning singing of Psalms in public, used then customarily, and probably some good while before this, by the gospellers, according as the reformed in other countries used to do, yet without any authority. This practice was now authorized by virtue of the said proviso, which ran in this tenor: "Provided also, that it shal be lawful for al men, as wel in churches, chapels, oratories, or other places, to use openly any psalm or prayer taken out of the Bible, at any due time; not letting or omitting therby the service, or any part therof mentioned in the said book." From hence it is that the title-page of our present books, the Hymns and Psalms in Metre, carry these

Singing of
the Psalms
authorized.

1548.

words : " Set forth and allowed to be sung in all Churches of all the People together, before and after Morning and Evening Prayer, and also before and after Sermons ; and moreover in Private Houses, for their godly Solace and Comfort." Which may serve to explain to us what the ordinary times of their singing together these psalms were ; namely, before they began the morning service, and after it was done. Likewise, when there was a sermon, before it began, and after it was finished. As for the psalms or hymns thus allowed, they seem to be those that are yet set before and after our present Singing Psalms, done by Dr. Cox, W. Whittingham, Robert Wisdom, eminent divines in those times, and others ; and some of David's Psalms, done by Sternhold, Hopkins, and others. It is certain that Sternhold composed several at first for his own solace ; for he set and sung them to his organ : which music King Edward VI. sometime hearing (for he was a gentleman of the privy chamber), was much delighted with them ; which occasioned his publication and dedication of them to the said king. After, when the whole Book of Psalms (with some other hymns) were completely finished in verse (done as it seems by Hopkins and certain other exiles in Queen Mary's reign), this clause in the aforesaid act gave them their authority for their public use in the church hitherto.

p. 87.

The first
editions of
the book.

This Book of Common Prayer was printed first in the month of June ; and a second edition thereof came forth March 8 following, with very little difference ; only that in the first edition the Litany was put between the Communion Service and the Office for Baptism : in the second, it was set at the end of the book.

The papists
asperse
this reformation.

And thus by the help and concurrence of the three estates, religion became happily planted in this island, reformed from abuses and corruptions of long time introduced into it. But the papists were very angry to see their old superstitious ceremonies thus laid aside ; and those that came after laboured all they

could to asperse and enervate it, by calling the religion a *Parliamentary Religion* (so Dr. Hill), and the Church of England, thus reformed, a *Parliament Church* (so Dr. Bristow). As though it were forged and framed in parliament by secular men; and that ecclesiastics, whose chief business it had been, had not been consulted herein. But in truth and reality it was not so: for the consideration and preparation of this Book of Common Prayer, together with other matters in religion, was committed first of all to divers learned divines, as was shewn before; and what they had concluded upon was offered the convocation. And after all this, the parliament approved it, and gave it its ratification: the which is more fully shewed and declared by the pen of a very knowing and learned man, viz.

“The religion which was then and is now established in England, is drawn out of the fountains of the word of God, and from the purest orders of the primitive church: which, for the ordinary exercise thereof, when it had been collected into the Book of Common Prayer, by the pains and labour of many learned men, and of mature judgment, it was afterwards confirmed by the upper and lower house. Yet not so, but that the more material points were disputed and debated in the Convocation House by men of both parties, and might further have been discussed, so long as any popish divine had ought reasonably to say.——And then it being intended to add to ecclesiastical decision the corroboration of secular government, according to the ancient custom of this kingdom (as appeareth by record from the time of King Edward the Third), the parliament, which is the most honourable court of Christendom, did ratify the same. That so all, of all orders and degrees, might be bound to serve the Lord of heaven; not after their own fancies, but as himself had prescribed. And that this order hath been the custom of good princes, to call their nobles and their people to joyn with them for the establishing of God's ser-

1548.

But falsely.
Dr. Geo.
Abbot ag.
Hil. p.104.

1548. vice, every man may know, who wil but look into the stories of the Bible. Joshua, Josh. xxiii. 22. David, 1 Chron. xxviii. 1. Asa, 2 Chron. xv. 9."

The reve-
nues of the
church in-
jured.

So that the *reformation* went well forward; and by the latter end of this year, religion and divine worship became pretty well purged from error and superstition, whereat all good men took great satisfaction. But notwithstanding this, great evil accompanied this great good, that many self-ended men took this occasion to labour the diminishing the revenues of the church, and the taking away a great part of the lands and livings of the bishops, the deans, and the prebendaries; suggesting, that the wealth and dignities of the former prelates made them such hinderers of the gospel, and obstructers of the word of God; and that the prebends might be far better bestowed upon other secular men and politic uses. One of these well-willers to the clergies' revenues, Sir Philip Hobby seems to have been, who, being this year ambassador with the emperor, had this lucky occasion offered to vent his mind plainly to the protector in this matter: for hearing how some of the German protestants laid the blame of their wars and miseries upon their popish bishops, who were princes, and men of great and high estate, and had their dependences chiefly upon the pope, and so did the more vigorously oppose the reformation there; and observing what great enemies, therefore, they were to the flourishing state of the bishops, thinking it irreconcilable with the gospel, the said ambassador made this relation of it to the protector, with the addition of his own judgment and wishes, which I choose to set down in his own words, in his letter written January 19: "Of our proceedings in England in matters of religion are sundry discourses here made; the protestants have good hopes, and pray earnestly therefore, that the king's majesty, being warned by the late ruin of Germany, happening by the bishops' princely and lordly estates, will take order for the redress thereof in his dominions; and appoint unto the good bishops an

Hobby's
letter to
that pur-
pose.
Galba.
B. 12.

honest and competent living, sufficient for their maintenance, taking from them the rest of their worldly possessions and dignities, and thereby avoid the vain glory that letteth them truly and sincerely to do their duty, and preach the gospel and word of Christ. They on the other side doubt not, but my lords the bishops, being a great number, stout, and well-learned men, will well enough weigh against their adversaries, and maintain still their estate, which coming to pass, they have good hope in time these princely pillars shall well enough quiet this fury, and bring all things again to the old order. Thus these men, having their sole expectation converted to the success hereof, cease not to talk their minds diversly." Thus Hoby.

And to shew his mind for taking away at one clap all the *prebends* in England, he took his occasion from some news he had to impart. "Yesterday (as he related in the same letter) was mustered here (*i. e.* at Brussels) five bands of horsemen, being in number about 1500, which should go towards Spire, to meet the Prince of Spain; among whom, by all men's reports that saw them, there were so many toward and handsome gentlemen, so well horsed and armed, and in all points so well in order, as hath few times, in so small a company, been seen: which when I heard, remembring what great service such a number of chosen men were able to do, specially in our country, wherein is so much lack of good horsemen, it caused me to declare, under your grace's correction, what I thought, earnestly to wish with all my heart, that standing so with the king's majesties pleasure, and your prudence, all the *prebends* within England were converted to the like use, for the defence of our country, and maintenance of honest poor gentlemen. Wherin if I wish amiss, or shall seem unto your grace over-presumptuous in the declaration thereof, I shall most humble beseech your goodness to pardon my boldness, and interpret my true meaning to the best part." What harm the suggesting of such counsils as these did, sufficiently appeared in this reign.

1548.

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1548.
The Artillery Corporation.

But perhaps Hoby's partiality towards martial men, who was a warlike man himself, may make some excuse for his judgment. King Henry VIII. towards the latter end of his flourishing reign, moved by his zeal to see his subjects profit in virtuous qualities, whereby they might the better do him service, established an order for the maintenance of artillery, appointing a certain corporation, unto which for this respect he gave certain privileges by a patent. This how much it served for the framing of men meet for service, both for the harquebus and great ordnance, was easily perceived, in that a number of this corporation in a small time became perfect masters in this military skill. But this corporation decayed, and became now much neglected: a great reason whereof was, because it was not confirmed by this king. Now about the month of January one Anthony, an artillery-man it seems, and his company, took upon them to solicit this business; and Sir Philip Hoby, who was master of the ordnance, though now, as was said above, ambassador abroad, wrote to the lord protector, earnestly putting him in remembrance of this suit, and to take such order in it as might be expedient. And being informed how unfurnished of necessary munition his office was, he remembered the protector also of making timely provision there, lest negligence might be imputed to those, as he wrote, that ought to solicit the same. And he prayed him also to consider and take some order for the payments of the debts of the same Office of the Ordnance, being about 7000*l*. which caused the officers to lose their credit, and be unable upon their word to make any further provisions before this were cleared.

The Office of the Ordnance.

A licence to carry over corn. Nobleman's seat in Essex.

The plenty of this present season made corn so cheap, that it was thought necessary to have it transported. For allowance and encouragement whereof the king's proclamation went forth, dated from Leighs, March 30, to this tenor: "That where the king's most royal majesty, by his proclamation, bearing date at Westminster, the 7th of December last, had straitly

charged and commanded his subjects, that after the publishing of the same, they should not transport, or carry over the seas into any other parts, any maner of grain, &c. And forasmuch as (thanks be unto Almighty God) there was at that present great plenty and abundance of wheat and other corn within the realm, wherby the farmers and others, which used tilling and manuring of their lands, might not sell their wheat and other grain, but at very low prizes, to their utter undoing, unless that some remedy might be provided in that behalf; the King's most excellent Majesty, with the advice, &c. granted, and by that present proclamation gave free liberty and licence to all and singular his loving subjects to imbark, ship, and cary over the seas, all maner of wheat and other kinds of grain, oats only excepted: so long as a quarter of wheat should be under the price of six shillings and eight pence the quarter; barley, malt, and ry, five shillings the quarter; pease and beans, four shillings the quarter; at the time of imbarking," &c.

1548.

CHAP. XII.

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Slanders raised of the king. No preaching without licence. Rebels in Cornwall. Pardoned. Commission upon inclosures. Order to the Earl of Sussex to raise men. Exportation of leather forbid. Stipendiaries, and chantry priests.

THE king's *proceedings* (as his steps in the reforming and ordering of this church were called), however pious his intent was thereby, namely, that one good uniformity might be had throughout all his realms, yet gave displeasure to many preachers and priests of the popish sort, who took occasion in confession, and otherwise, to move the king's subjects to disobedience and stubbornness against his orders. And other light persons sowed abroad false rumours against him; telling out that they heard say, that the king should take and set upon them new and strange

Slanders of
the king's
proceed-
ings.

1548. exactions: as, on every one that married, half a crown; likewise the same duty upon every christening and burial, and such other lying surmises: and hereby many were seduced and brought into such disorder of late, and in some parts in a manner to insurrection and rebellion, as we shall hear by and by.

Preaching
forbid
without
licence.

Much harm also was now done in disaffecting the people by seditious and contentious preaching. To prevent the further hurt thereof, the king, by a proclamation, April 24, charged and commanded that no man hereafter should be permitted to preach (however they might read the homilies), except he were licenced by the King, the Lord Protector, or the Archbishop of Canterbury, under their seals; and the same licence to be shewed to the parson or curate, and two honest men of the parish beside, before his preaching, upon pain of imprisonment, both of the preacher, and of the curate that suffered him to preach without licence. And a charge was given to all justices to look to this diligently. So that now no bishop (except the Archbishop of Canterbury) might licence any to preach in his own diocese, nay, nor might preach himself without licence: so I have seen licences to preach granted to the Bishop of Exeter, anno 1551; and to the Bishops of Lincoln and Chichester, anno 1552.

Some have
two wives.

There were also other unlearned and ill-disposed people, who whispered now into men's ears ill opinions against God's laws and the good order of the realm: as some taught, that a man might forsake his wife and marry another, his first wife yet living, and likewise that the wife might do so to the husband. Others taught, that a man might have two wives, or more, at once; and that these were prohibited, not by God's law, but by the Bishops of Rome. And so by these fantastical opinions some did marry, and kept two wives: the king understanding this, charged by the proclamation aforesaid, all archbishops and bishops, and others that had spiritual jurisdiction, to proceed against such as had, or should hereafter have

p. 91.

two wives, or any that should put away his wife, and marry another : and to punish such offenders, according to the ecclesiastical laws, that others might be afraid to fall into such insolent and unlawful acts. And lastly, it was required that all the king's officers should detect such to the archbishops or bishops, or others that exercised spiritual jurisdiction, and aid the same to the punishment of such evil doers. 1548.

The judges and justices of the peace (namely, such as were then within the cities of London and Westminster, or suburbs) were required by proclamation, dated at Westminster, April 30, to appear before the king's council in the Star Chamber, on Friday, by eight of the clock in the morning, there to know further of his majesty's will and pleasure. The reason of this summons, I make no doubt, was, because of the suspicion of some disturbances and mutinyings in the country, which soon after brake out more openly. And this appeared from the charge (extant in Fox's History) which the Lord Chancellor Rich gave them, when they met in the Star Chamber; which was, among other things, "That they should go down into their several counties, and there see good order kept, and the king's laws obeyed; and that if there should chance any lewd or light fellows to make any routs, riots, or unlawful assemblies, or seditious meetings, or uproars, by the motion of some private traitors, to appease them at the first, and apprehend the first authors. Not (said he, concealing however their jealousies at court) as if we feared any such thing, or that there is any such thing likely to chance; but we give you warning, lest it might. And for the same purpose he required them to see in their several counties, that horse and harness and other furniture of weapons were ready, according to the laws of the land." The judges and justices cited to the Star Chamber.

And indeed they were already up in Cornwall, and the parts thereabouts, even in the month of April, where, by the means of some popishly affected persons, many idle lying insinuations of the king's doings A rebellion in Cornwall.

1548. or intentions were buzzed about into the heads of the people, to blow them up into discontents; chiefly as it seems upon the king's proceedings: which the ignorant people refusing to obey, it came at last to that pass, that they got together in great numbers and made an open rebellion. And in this confusion, one William Body, gentleman, one on the king's side, was slain: but at length they were quelled, and begged the king's mercy, and obtained it: yet the chief ringleaders were excepted and reserved for execution. This general pardon was dated at Westminster, May 17, in the second year of the king, and it ran to this purport:

Pardoned. "Albeit that many of the king's highness subjects and commons, dwelling and inhabiting in that shire of Cornwall, or in any other place or isle, being reputed, or taken for any part, parcel or member of the same shire, and such other the king's subjects inhabiting in others places, have now of late attempted and committed manifest and open rebellion against his majesty within the said shire, or the limits of the same: wherby was like to have ensued the utter ruin and destruction of that whole shire; and to the high displeasure of Almighty God, who straitly commandeth
p. 92. you to obey your sovereign lord and king in all things, and not with violence to resist his wil and command for any cause whatsoever it be: nevertheless the king's most royal majesty perceiving by credible reports, that your said offences proceeded of ignorance and evil inticements, and by occasion of sundry false tales, never purposed, minded, nor intended by his highness, nor any of his council; but most craftily contrived, and most spitefully set abroad among you by certain malicious and seditious persons: and thereupon his highness inclined to extend his most gracious pity and mercy towards you, having the chief charge over you under God, both of your souls and bodies; and desiring rather the preservation of the same, and your reconciliation by his merciful means, than by the order of rigor of justice to punish you

according to your demerits; of his inestimable goodness, replenisht with most godly pity and mercy; and at your most humble petitions and submissions made unto him; is contented and pleased to give and grant, and by this present proclamation doth give and grant unto you all, and unto all and every of your confederates, whersoever they dwel, of whatsoever estate, degree or condition soever, &c. his general and free pardon for all maner of treasons, rebellions, insurrections, &c.; and for all maner of unlawful assemblies, unlawful conventicles, unlawful speaking of words, &c. from the time of the beginning of the said rebellion, when it was, until the first day of May last past, &c. provided that this general and free pardon shall not extend unto John Williams, William Kilter, John Kilter, John Kelion, Richard Trewela, &c. and about 26 or 27 persons more."

1548.

And that these insurrections might be prevented for the future, occasioned in a great measure by the poverty and discontent that reigned in the country by reason of the decay of tillage, and the inclosing of land for pasturage; therefore a commission was granted, to inquire into these abuses. And on the 1st of June there went out a notable proclamation against inclosures, letting houses fall to decay, and unlawful converting of arable ground into pastures, which accompanied the commissioners. It set forth, "That the king, the lord protector's grace, and the rest of the privy council, were advertised and put in remembrance, as wel by divers supplications and pitiful complaints of the king's poor subjects, as also by other wise and discrete men, having care of the good order of the realm, that of late, by the inclosing of lands and arable grounds in divers and sundry places of the realm, many had been driven to extreme poverty, and compelled to leave the places where they were born, and to seek them beings in other countries with great misery and poverty: insomuch as in time past ten, twenty, yea, in some places an 100 or 200 Christen people have been inhabiting, and kept hous-

A proclamation
against inclosures.

1548. holds to the bringing up and nourishing of youth, and to the replenishing and fulfilling of his majesties realm with faithful subjects; who might serve both Almighty God, and the king's majesty to the defence of this realm; now there is nothing kept but sheep or bullocks. All that land which heretofore was tilled and occupied with so many men, and did bring forth not only divers families in work and labour, but also capons, hens, chickens, pigs, and other such furniture of the markets, is now gotten by unsatiable greediness of mind into one or two men's hands, and scarcely dwelt upon with one poor shepherd: so that the realm thereby was brought to a marvellous desolation, houses decayed, parishes diminished, the force of the realm weakened, and Christen people, by the greedy covetousness of some men, eaten up and devoured of brute beasts, and driven from their houses by sheep and bullocks. And that altho' of the same thing many sundry complaints and lamentations have been heretofore made, and by the most wise and discrete princes, his majesties father and grandfather, &c. with the consent and assent of the lords spiritual and temporal in divers parlements assembled, divers and sundry laws and acts of parliament, and most godly ordinances in their several times, have been made for the remedy thereof: yet the insatiable covetousness of men doth not cease dayly to encroach hereupon, and more and more to wast the realm after this sort, bringing arable grounds into pasture, and letting houses, whole families and copyholds to fal down, decay and be wast.

p. 93. "Wherefore his highness is greatly moved both with a pitiful and tender zeale to his most loving subjects, especially to the poor which are minded to labour and travail for their livings, and forced to live an idle and loitering life; and of a most necessary regard to the surety and defence of his realm, which must be defended against the enemy with force of men and the multitude of true subjects, not with flocks of sheep, and droves of beasts.

“ And further, it is advertised, that by the ungodly and uncharitable means aforesaid, the said sheep and oxen being brought into a few men’s hands, a great multitude of them being together, and so made great droves and flocks, as wel by natural reason, as also, as it may be justly thought, by the due punishment of God for such uncharitableness, great rottes and murrhens, both of sheep and bullocks, have lately been sent of God, and seen in the realm: the which should not by al reason so soon fal, if the same were dispersed into divers men’s hands. And the said cattel also by all likelihood of truth should be more cheap, being in many men’s hands as they be now in few, who may hold them dear, and tary their advantage of the market. 1548.

“ And therefore, he, by the advice of his most intirely beloved uncle, the Duke of Somerset, &c. and the rest of his majesties privy council, hath weighed most deeply all the said things, and upon the aforesaid considerations; and of princely desire and zeale, to se that godly laws made with great travail, and approved by experience, and by the wise heads in the time of the said most prudent princes, should not be made in vain, but put in ure and execution, hath appointed, according to the said acts and proclamations, a view and enquiry to be made of all such as, contrary to the said acts and godly ordinances, have made enclosures and pastures of that which was arable ground, or let any house, tenement or mease decay and fal down; or otherwise committed, or don any thing to the contrary of the good and wholesome articles contained in the said acts: and therefore willeth and commandeth all his loving subjects, who know any such defaults and offences contrary to the wealth and profit of this realm of England, and the said godly laws and acts of parlament don and committed by any person, whosoever he or they be, to insinuate and give information of the offence to the king’s majesties commissioners, who be appointed to hear the same, so truly and faithfully, that neither for p. 94.

1548. favour nor fear they omit to tel the truth of any ; nor for displeasure name any man who is not guilty therof ; that a convenient and speedy reformation might be made herein, to the honor of God and the king's majesty, and the wealth and benefit of the whole realm."

Commis-
sioners ap-
pointed for
inquiry
thereinto.

So that, that these abuses and hard pressures upon the poor commons might be the more effectually remedied, commissions were now given out to divers persons of quality and integrity, for inquiry into these misdemeanors throughout England. For the counties of Oxon, Berks, Warwick, Leicester, Bedford, Bucks and Northampton, were appointed Sir Francis Russel, Sir Foulk Grevil, knts. John Hales, John Marsh, William Pynnock, Roger Amys. And at their meeting for executing this commission, John Hales made an excellent exhortation or charge to the people, who were sworn to make presentments: wherein he first explained to them the good laws made against these corruptions. Whereof one was, that no man should keep above the number of two thousand sheep: another, that those that had the sites of any monasteries suppressed, should keep continual household upon the same, and occupy as much of the demesns in tillage as had been occupied within twenty years before: which notwithstanding were not regarded nor obeyed: whereby towns, villages and parishes decayed daily in great numbers; houses of husbandry, and poor men's habitations utterly destroyed every where: husbandry, the very nourishment of the whole body of the realm, greatly abated, and the king's subjects wonderfully diminished; as appeared by the new books of the musters compared with the old, and with the Chronicles. And how all this grew through the great dropsy of the realm, that is, the covetousness of many men, given to their own private profit, but passed nothing of the commonwealth. He shewed, how the former King Henry VIII. and the present King Edward, for want of their own natural subjects to serve them in their wars, were

forced to hire Almaines, Italians and Spaniards. And that this was the cause the king was fain to build so many castles and bulwarks by the sea-side: and the charges by these means waxing daily greater and greater, he was of necessity driven to ask so great subsidies as he did. He went on, and shewed how these covetous men were disappointed: for they reckoned to leave great possessions to their children, and to make their families noble; whereas many times their children, before their fathers were laid in their graves, consumed and wasted all upon harlots, gaming and lewd company: and so, evil got, worse spent. But the whole charge is well drawn up, and containeth in it so many matters proper to give light into these times and affairs, that I have put both it and the commission into the Repository. These commissioners went down into the countries and spent the summer in this necessary business.

1548.

P. Q.

But these commissions could not be so carefully and diligently executed, but the commons were ready to right themselves, and began to talk boldly, that if remedy were not presently had for reducing of farms and copyholds to their wonted state, that they would not fail among themselves to attempt the reformation thereof; and some of them were ready to pull down inclosures, the commissioners still sitting; but where the commissioners were discrete, as those were that were appointed for Oxon, Bucks, Berks, &c. stayed them by their good management from their attempts.

The commons notwithstanding ready to rise.

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Such bruits as these came plentifully to court. This occasioned letters from the protector and council, written in August, to the commissioners; advising them in their return homeward to pass by all the good towns and other notable places, where they had sitten before in commission, and to declare that the king had sent them on purpose to take notice of these grievances, in order to reform them, (which he would do in time convenient for it,) and to assure them of the good will of the king and council to them for their benefit, as much as they could wish; exhorting them

The king's and protector's kind message to them.

1548. therefore to remain good and quiet subjects. But the answer which Hales gave to the protector, dated from Coventry, Aug. 25, shewed, that his enemies, whom this commission chiefly touched, did rather give out these rumours, than that there was much truth in them. For he assured the protector the people were in good quiet, and daily resorted to him to take his advice in making their presentments. So that he concluded this to be done to dash the commission, or to put to shame the commissioners; and therefore that there would not lack tales, surmises and practices, for that purpose. And that the hand of the papists was in this, perceiving the execution of the commission would be an establishment to Christ's religion in the people's hearts: for they could not but love it, when they saw it brought forth such good fruit. He prayed the protector therefore, that when such rumours again came to him, he would learn the names of the offenders and the accusers; and then the matter would soon be tried, where punishment was required. But that according to the charge given them, the commissioners, they intended to do at their return; and what transgressors they should find, to commit to ward, till his majesty's pleasure were further known concerning them. He shewed the protector moreover what practices were used, and threatenings and revilings towards those honest men, that were sworn to present the offenders; and in fine, he put the protector in hope, that they should find the commonalty in their circuit (at least) quiet, and some of them better disposed to religion and the king's proceedings than they were before.
- Displea-
sure
against
Hales for
his com-
mission.
- Such reports also came to the Earl of Warwick's ears, being then at Warwick; insomuch that he grew much displeased with Hales, who acted very honestly in this commission, and favourably to the commons; which occasioned him to write at large to the said earl, answering the two causes of his displeasure against him, (according as he had taken it from Hales's enemies, that were secret papists.) The one

was, that he should sue out the commission against inclosures in that troublesome time. The other, that in the execution of it by his charge to the people, he stirred up the commons against the nobility and gentry. But Hales, in a letter to him dated from Fladbury, August 12, as to the former, professed he thought upon nothing less than inclosures, when he was appointed to be a commissioner, and willed to prepare to see the same executed. But he thought it not his part, he said, to deny to serve, nor to let that that the king and his council minded to set forward: the sore, he added, was brought to such an extremity, that if it were not remedied, all the realm would rue. And besides, that this was no new motion, for as long as he had knowledge of things, all men had cried out against inclosures. He meant not, he said, hedging in lands, but decaying tillage and husbandry. Some had complained to the parliament, some in their sermons, some in books. And as to the second, that he should by his hortation set the commons against the nobility and gentlemen, he said, that he never spake any word, but some of the commissioners were present; who he doubted not would testify for him in this part to his accuser's shame. And then he declared unto the earl the chief points of the charge he gave at that time, which had not one word that tended that way as was surmised. And therein he was sure that he offended neither God nor the king, nor gave occasion to any honest man to be offended; saying, that whosoever that reported any otherwise to his lordship, he trusted, should be found the child of the devil, and not of God. For he is true, and his children will not lie. He concluded, praying his lordship for God's sake (though he trusted he should not need to put him in remembrance) to remember the poor, to have mercy and compassion on them, and that he would not go about to hinder them. That the hindering of them, if we considered it well, should be our own hinderance at length. That God had as much respect to the poor as to the rich, to

1548.

p. 96.

1548. the poor man as to the gentleman, and to every man indifferently. It grieved him much, he said, that those that seemed to favour God's word should go about to hinder or speak evil of this thing: whereby the end and fruit of God's word, that is, love and charity to our poor neighbours, should be so set forth and published to the world. In a word, he exhorted to take example by the Germans, who because they were babblers, and no doers of God's word, were then and worthily punished and brought to extreme misery and servitude, praying God the like happened not to them.

The gos-
pellers,
friends to
this com-
mission.

It appears hence, that the favourers of the gospel did especially further and promote this commission, and laboured to remedy those oppressions towards the poor: knowing what lessons of compassion and benignity true religion required; and reckoning, that hereby the gospel would receive the better countenance in the country, when they saw how it produced love and charity towards the poor neighbours, when others oppressed and vexed them.

Hath not
its desired
effect.

But though the good Duke of Somerset took all this pains, and employed many honest men (such as Mr. Hales) in this charitable work, to put a stop to the impoverishing and dispiriting of the poor; and to heal their discontents, which he foresaw also a great danger in; yet such was the greedy avarice of the gentry, that all these endeavours proved unsuccessful; many great men at the court, and the Earl of Warwick, it seems, among the rest, backing them, being themselves probably guilty in that behalf. The severe effects of which appeared, as was feared, the next year, in insurrections almost throughout the kingdom. The jealousies of which were at present so great, that besides these gentler methods, it was thought necessary to summon all the realm to be ready to arm, upon the fears of intestine turmoils, as well as upon the present hostility with France and Scotland. Such an order I find now sent in May to the Earl of Sussex, dwelling in Norfolk, as no ques-

tion the like were sent to others of the nobility and gentry: this to that nobleman was as follows:

1548.
p. 97.

“ BY THE KING.

“ EDWARD,

“ RIGHT trusty and right welbeloved, we greet you wel. And being credibly informed that there is a great aid put in a readiness to be sent shortly by the seas into Scotland; in the which there shall be, as we be also certainly advertised, a number of men at arms sent for defence of the Scots impeachment of our affairs, and further annoyance of our dominions and subjects; like as we have already, with the advice and consent of our dearest uncle the Duke of Somerset, governor of our person, and protector of our realms, dominions and subjects, and the rest of our privy council, both foreseen this matter and prepared for the same in all other parts in such sort, as if any thing shall upon courage of this aid be attempted against any our ports, pieces or subjects, the same shall be with help of Almighty God so met withal, as they shall have smal cause to boast themselves of their doings: so being no less careful to provide also for the surety of our most loving subjects in all other events, Wee have thought good and necessary to have out of hand put in order a sufficient number of horsemen of sundry sorts, to be employed for defence and safeguard of our said subjects, dominions and countries, as occasion shall serve. And for this it is, knowing your accustomed towardness and good wil toward the advancement of our service, we have, with the advice and consent aforesaid, thought meet to pray and require you, among others of that our county of Norfolk, to have in ful areadiness by the 10th of June next ensuing, two good and hable horses or geldings meet to serve in the field for demilances, with two demilances to be employed upon the same, harnessed, weaponed and furnished in all things, as appertaineth: putting the

To the Earl
of Sussex
to provide
horse.
Titus, B. 2.

1548. same in such order and arreadiness, as upon one hours warning after the said 10th of June, they may be in ful readiness to set forward to any such place, as by us or our said dearest uncle and council shal be appointed unto you. Whereof we require you not to fail, as ye tender the advancement of our service. Yeven under our signet at our palace of Westminster the 16th of May, in the second year of our reign.

E. SOMERSET."

Exporting
of leather
prohibited.

There was now so great exportation of leather, that there became a mighty scarcity and lack thereof at home for the necessary use of the people: and the prices of that commodity rose to great, high and unsupportable rates, which caused a proclamation dated from Westminster, June 1, that no manner of person should carry or export out of the realm any manner of leather, or salt hides, unto any strange nation without express licence.

Care taken
about the
pensions
of stipen-
diary and
chauntry-
priests.
p. 98.

By virtue of the act made last year, whereby chauntries were given to the king, the commissioners appointed for execution of the same, were empowered to assign to the stipendiary-priests that attended those chauntries whose salaries the king was entitled to, and to every fellow and poor person that was wont to have yearly relief out of any of those colleges, free chapels or chauntries, such yearly annuities, pensions or other recompences, during their lives, as by them should be thought convenient: and thereupon to make assignments and orders for the payment to the said priests or other. This occasioned vast numbers of stipendiaries, and other poor people that claimed these pensions, to flock to London, for getting them assigned to them. So that the court, the Lord Protector's house, the court of augmentations, and other courts and places, were extremely pestered with them. Whereupon, to satisfy these men, and to deliver the town of such confluxes of unnecessary people, a proclamation was issued forth, dated at Westminster, May 14, to this tenor; "That the

king's majesty, of his tender zeale and love which he bore to his loving subjects, understanding that divers chauntry priests, poor men and other men, of late-dissolved colleges, chauntries, free chappels, &c. which by the last act of parliament were come to his hands, daily repaired to London to him, and to the protector, the chancellor of the augmentations, and other courts, for assurance of their pensions, to their great cost and charges, and no small travail: by the advice of his intyrelly beloved uncle the Duke of Somerset, and the rest of his council, for the avoiding of the same, had taken order, that commissioners should repair down shortly to every shire, and there should declare unto them the maner of the payment of their said pensions, so by the said act due, and to be appointed, and also for their said patents of their pensions; in such sort and maner, and to the proportion as they should be therewith right wel contented. Wherfore his highness willed and commanded all manner of chauntry-priests, prebendaries, guild-priests, or any other, who had repaired thither for that purpose, to return immediately down into their countries."

1548.

CHAP. XIII.

p. 99.

A gift to the Lady Mary. The king minds the public affairs. Points of state polity for the king's exercise. Consultation about the coin. The case of the nation involved in war with France and Scotland. The merchants of Antwerp wronged. The English ambassadors interpose.

THIS second year of the king, to oblige his sister the Lady Mary, and in accomplishment of his father's last testament, on May 17, he granted to her the lordship and manor of Kenninghal, alias Kenningale, and the rectory impropriate thereof, with the appurtenances, in the county of Norfolk; and divers other lordships, manors, lands, tenements and posses-

Lands by
the king
granted to
the Lady
Mary.
Book of
Sales.

1548. sions in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Hertford, Essex, Bucks, Chester and Middlesex; to the yearly value of 3489-18-6 *q. di. q.* Rent reserved 99-18-6 *q. di.* The time of the issues of this estate so granted was to commence from the feast of St. Michael, anno 38 Hen. VIII.

The king
sets himself
to mind
public af-
fairs.

The young king, though but eleven years of age, did now seriously set himself to mind the public affairs of his kingdom, and to study to understand the state and condition of it, and to provide for the safety and peace of himself and his people. And for this purpose he began to bethink himself how he might make use of the present time with advantage to himself and his realm, and likewise to inspect more narrowly into his own affairs abroad and at home. And as to the former, how a great point of his security and strength consisted in a good understanding with his neighbours. And as to his own realm at home, this also he saw required a great deal of diligence, for the well understanding, regulation and government thereof. And for the better furnishing himself with knowledge and insight into these things, he delighted to hear and read learned men, and learn their judgments. Among those he made great use of William Thomas, Esq. a person (however unfortunate, being afterwards executed for treason in Queen Mary's rough reign) excellently qualified to instruct the king in these and such like politic matters, by his travels abroad, and his thorough acquaintance with the Roman and other histories, joined with an accurate skill of dexterity in drawing proper and useful inferences and conclusions from former accidents and transactions.

Thomas
draws up
questions
of state po-
lity for the
king.

p. 100.

This Thomas drew up proper questions of *state polity*, devised for the exercise of the young king's contemplations: upon which the said learned man purposed at his leisure to compose distinct discourses. He entitled them *Common Places of State*; which, together with his prefatory letter to the king, when he presented them, may deserve a place here.

“To the KING's Highness.

1548.

“PLEASETH your excellent majesty. Albeit that my gross knowledge be utterly unapt to enterprize the instruction of any thing unto your highness, whose erudition I know to be such as every faithful heart ought to rejoyce at; yet, imagining with my self, that hitherto your majesty hath more applied your study of the tongues, than any matter either of history or of policy, (the holy scriptures excepted,) and considering, that since your highness is by the providence of God already grown to the administration of that great and famous charge, that hath been left unto you by your most noble progenitors; there is no earthly thing more necessary than the knowledge of such examples, as in this and other regiments heretofore have happened: methinks, of my bounden duty I could no less do, than present unto your majesty the notes of those discourses, that are now my principal study, which I have gathered out of divers authors, intending with leisure to write the circumstances of those reasons that I can find to make most for the purpose. And because there is nothing better learned than that which man laboureth for himself, therefore I determined at this present to give unto your highness this little abstract only; trusting, that like as in all kinds of vertuous living and exercise, ye have always shewed your self diligent; even so in this part, which concerneth the chief maintenance of your high estate, and preservation of your commonwealth, your majesty would shew no less industry than the matter deserveth. For though these be but questions, yet there is not so small an one among them, as will not administer matter of much discourse, worthy the argument and debating; which your highness may, either for pastime, or in earnest, propone to the wisest man. And whensoever there shall appear any difficulty, that your majesty would have discussed, if it shall stand with your pleasure, I shall most gladly write the circumstance of the best discourses that I can gather touching that part, and accordingly pre-

Cott. Libr.
Titus, B.2.

1548. sent it unto your highness: most humbly beseeching the same to accept my good will in as good part, as if I were of ability to offer unto your majesty a more worthy thing.

"Your majesty's most humble servant,
"WILLIAM THOMAS."

Politic
Questions.

"1. Whereof hath grown the authority of astates; and how many kinds of astates there be?"

"2. Which of all astates is most commendable and necessary?"

"3. Whether a multitude without head may prosper?"

"4. Whether is wiser and most constant, the multitude or the prince?"

"5. Whether it is better for the commonwealth, that the power be in the nobility, or in the people?"

p. 101.

"6. Whether a mean estate may bear a great subject?"

"7. What laws are necessary, and how they ought to be maintained?"

"8. How easily a weak prince with good order may long be maintained: and how soon a mighty prince with little disorder may be destroyed?"

"9. What causeth an inheriter king to loose his realm?"

"10. Whether religion, beside the honour of God, be not also the greatest stay of civil order; and whether the unity thereof be not to be preserved with the sword and rigor?"

"11. Whether of the two is the more unkind, the people or the prince?"

"12. How unkindness may be eschewed?"

"13. What is the occasion of conspiracies?"

"14. Whether the people commonly desire the destruction of him that is in authority; and what moveth them so to do?"

"15. What a man of authority may do in the multitude?"

"16. What is to be observed in chusing of officers?"

"17. How flatterers are to be known and despised? 1548.

"18. How men's opinions in great matters are to be pondered?

"19. Whether in judgments the mean way ought to be observed?

"20. Whether a man of authority ought to contemn his inferiors?

"21. How dangerous it is to leap from humility unto pride, and from pity unto cruelty?

"22. Whether men may easily be corrupted?

"23. How much good ministers are to be rewarded, and the evil punished?

"24. How dangerous it is to be author of a new matter?

"25. Whether accusations are necessary, and whether evil reports are condemnable?

"26. Whether evil report lighteth not most commonly upon the reporter?

"27. Whether ambitious men mounting from one ambition to another, do first seek not to be offended, and afterward to offend?

"28. Whether it be dangerous to make him an officer, that once hath been misused?

"29. Whether they be not often deceived, that think with humility to overcome pride?

"30. What force the prince's example hath among the subjects?

"31. How a prince ought to govern himself to attain reputation?

"32. What things deserve either praise or reproach?

"33. What is liberality and misery?

"34. What is cruelty and clemency?

"35. Whether hate and dispraise ought to be eschewed?

"36. What is fortune?

"37. How men be oftentimes blinded with fortune?

"38. Whether it be not necessary for him that

1548. would have continually good fortune, to vary with the time?

" 39. What prince's amity is good?

" 40. Whether a puissant prince ought to purchase amity with mony, or with vertue and stoutness?

" 41. What trust ought to be had in leagues?

" 42. What is the cause of war?

" 43. How many kinds of war there be?

" 44. How many kinds of soldiers?

" 45. Whether they that fight for their own glory are good and faithful soldiers?

" 46. Why do men over-run strange countries?

p. 102. " 47. How should a prince measure his force; and how rule himself in war?

" 48. Whether a manifest war towards, ought to be begun upon the enemy, or abidden till the enemy begin?

" 49. Whether it is better to assault or to defend?

" 50. Whether mony be the substance of war; or not?

" 51. Whether weak astates are ever doubtfully determining; and whether much deliberation doth rather hurt than help?

" 52. Whether is greater in conquest, vertue or fortune?

" 53. Whether prevaieth more in fortune, policy or force?

" 54. What is policy in war?

" 55. Whether conquests are not sometimes more noysome than profitable?

" 56. Whether it be wisdom to venture much?

" 57. What means ought to be used in defence?

" 58. Whether the country ought not always to be defended, the quarrel being right or wrong?

" 59. Whether inconveniences ought rather to be qualified and overcome with leisure; or at the first plainly repress?

" 60. What danger it is to a prince, not to be revenged of an open injury?

“ 61. What discommodity it is to a prince to lack armour? 1548.

“ 62. How much ought artillery to be esteemed?

“ 63. Whether ought more to be esteemed, footmen or horsemen?

“ 64. Whether it be dangerous to be served of strange soldiers?

“ 65. Whether is an army better governed of one absolute head, or of divers?

“ 66. What ought the general of an army to be?

“ 67. Whether is more to be esteemed a good captain with a weak army, or a strong army with a weak captain?

“ 68. Whether it be necessary, that general captains have large commissions?

“ 69. What advantage is it to foresee the enemies purpose?

“ 70. Whether a captain in the field may forsake the fight, if the enemy will needs fight?

“ 71. What is it to be quick of invention in time of battle?

“ 72. What sufferance and time is in fight?

“ 73. Whether it be necessary to assure the army before the fight?

“ 74. Whether it be not necessary sometimes to feign folly?

“ 75. How to beware of craft, when the enemy seems to have committed a folly?

“ 76. What advantage it is for a captain to know the ground?

“ 77. Whether skirmishes be good?

“ 78. Whether fortresses are not many times more noysome than profitable?

“ 79. Whether an excellent man doth alter his courage for any adversity?

“ 80. Whether princes ought to be contented with reasonable victories, and so to leave?

“ 81. Whether fury and bravery be any times necessary to obtain purposes?

1548. "82. Whether promises made by force ought to be observed?

"83. Whether it becomes not a prince to pretend liberality, when necessity constraineth him to depart with things?

"84. What is vertue; and when it is most esteemed?

"85. What destroyeth the memory of things?"

p. 103.

"It becometh a prince for his wisdom to be had in admiration, as well of his chiefest counsellors, as of his other subjects. And since nothing serveth more to that, than to keep the principal things of wisdom secret, till occasion require the utterance, I would wish them to be kept secret, referring it nevertheless to your majesty's good will and pleasure." And so Mr. Thomas concluded his paper above, of Questions of State and Government.

These useful Questions the king no doubt spent some thoughts upon: and soon wanted to see Thomas's discourses upon the same.

To him therefore did the king now send certain notes by Sir Nicolas Throgmorton, one of his bed-chamber, concerning such particular matters of state as he would hear his thoughts of; and to draw up some distinct discourses for his study and meditation, namely, of the things before mentioned. This task this ingenious gentleman cheerfully undertook.

Political
discourses
composed
for the
king.

Thus he compiled for the king's use a more general discourse, Whether it were expedient to vary with time? Which he determined to be exceeding necessary for a prince to do: that is, that they should not always observe one direct and obstinate proceeding, if the time fell out that would require the contrary; for then it would follow inevitably, that their proceedings must perish. He meant not as he wrote, that men should vary in amity, or turn from virtue to vice, or to alter in any such things as required constancy; but touching other private or public doings, he judged it necessary to humour the time. For which he gave many apt examples out of ancient Greek and

Roman history. He drew up also for the king, and by his command, another general discourse, to instruct him concerning the different natures of the nobility and commonalty, of which two ranks of people his whole realm consisted, and of the danger of the latter above the former. This discourse he prosecuted under this question: Whether it be better for a commonwealth, that the power be in the nobility or in the commonalty? Then, as to his majesty's amity with princes abroad, and how to make profitable leagues with them, the said Thomas composed for the king's study another treatise, discoursing, What prince's amity is best? Wherein he shewed the use and benefit of leagues with other states, which he made to consist in two things, viz. in giving aid to resist an enemy, and in relieving his friend's country with the commodities that it wanted. The necessity of this friendship he shewed to appear, in that few princes were able to maintain their own, if they wanted the friendship of other princes. And for the better instructing the king what prince's friendship was rather to be chosen, he propounded four things worthy consideration, viz. the propinquity, the antiquity of friendship, the religion, and the nature of the prince whose amity was sought. Again, the same person yielded the king another discourse, and this more particular: Concerning the king's outward affairs at that juncture. Shewing in what ill case things then were. Letting him understand, how the case was altered in the kingdom from its condition under his father, when it was dreaded of all its neighbours, and needed not to esteem any of them more than they esteemed it; but how it was now hated and condemned of them all. Whereupon it was necessary for the nation now, for lack of its own estimation, either to esteem them, or redeem its own estimation, or perish. He let him see how war threatened on every hand, and therefore friendship was to be gotten from abroad; which yet he saw not how it was to be gotten, without either extreme disadvantage, or the

1548.

p. 104.

1548. denying of our faith; neither of which was tolerable. That the king had two puissant enemies to deal withal: the French king, a doubtful friend; and the emperor, a dissembling foe. Then the writer deliberated, how either was to be dealt withal; and then stated the matters as to Scotland and Ireland. From which excellent discourse may be seen the present state of the kingdom at that time. All these curious

T. V. discourses are preserved in the *Repository*.

Consulta-
tion about
the coin.

At home the coin was much debased since King Henry's time, and much complaint was made of it, and many inconveniences foreseen to follow, if it so continued; and therefore great deliberation began to be concerning it at the Council Board. This occasioned the writing a fifth Discourse, by the king's especial (but secret) order to the said Thomas. This indeed seemed to be writ first of all, before any of the rest; for this matter lying before the council suddenly to be considered, the young king, having a mind to be prepared to speak upon that argument, privately sent Throgmorton to him, who, as he brought the king's notes signifying his will to Thomas, that he should draw up the discourses above mentioned, so particularly and immediately to give him his thoughts upon the coin, but secretly. Accordingly he shewed the king his judgment, that by all means the coin should be reformed, and that without delay; because the badness of it bred multitudes of bargains, that people might get rid of it, to the utter impoverishing of the needy. That they indeed had silver coin, but in such kind, as that neither they esteemed it for silver, nor could without great loss use it as silver. And as the value of money daily decayed, so he shewed, that gold encreased to that value, that lying still it amounted above the revenues of any lands; and that the value of gold was likely to advance unmeasurably, so that he that lived a twelvemonth should see an old angel worth twelve shillings of the current money. Therefore in his discourse upon this argument, he advised, that twelve

pence should be exacted in the pound for the redress of money. This discourse he sent very privately to the king, sealed up as if it were a thing for the council, assuring his majesty, that no creature living was, or should be, privy either to it or any the rest of his discourses. One reason whereof was, that so the king might utter these matters as of his own, whereby they might gain greater credit with the council, than if it were known to have proceeded from Thomas, or any one else. This discourse, it would be pity it should be wanting: see it among the rest of his discourses, in the Repository, as they are found in a Cotton MS.

1548.

W.

And to exercise his princely mind in the great matter of war, the last and only remedy oftentimes left for princes to maintain or recover their rights, among the rest of the rules of policy, provided for the king by Thomas, I know not to whom to attribute certain Aphorisms of War, which came forth about this time, so well as to the said Thomas; nor for whose use drawn up, as for the young king's, being fitted for his study, by recommending to his reading several instances of the Roman History: it was intitled, "A necessary Order which a Prince in Battel must observe and keep, if he intend to subdue or pass through his Enemies' Country: Also the Maner of besieging a Fortress, and how a Prince besieged should order himself: And how to pacify a Sedition of Soldiers." This writing, which, I suppose, was penned originally for the king's use and study, was soon after printed, that it might be of more common benefit for such as were, or should be, captains and officers in the king's army.

Aphorisms
for War,
for the
king's use.

p. 105.

In Bib-
lioth. Re-
verend.
Patr. D.
Joh. Episc.
Elien.

This I saw among the excellent collections of the late Right Reverend Bishop of Ely.

But as to Thomas's late discourse concerning the coin, the king in answer signified to him, notwithstanding the vehemency he expressed for the reformation of it, what dangers and inconveniences were urged by others, if any alteration should be made:

The king's
objection
about the
coin.

1548. and that therefore some were of opinion, that sentence should take place here, *Malum bene conditum nò moveas*. But Thomas, in another private letter to the king, gave his sense of this objection against the reformation of the coin, in these words :

Thomas his
answer.
Cott. Libr.
Vespasian,
D. 18.

——“ And where, indeed, I was somewhat earnest for the reformation of the coin, wherein it pleased your majesty to command my opinion, truly my zeal to my country did so prick me, that I could not forbear to exclaim against the fault. Like as for the redress, I am not yet persuaded from my device : for though I understand there be other arguments, perchance better than mine, yet I like not his opinion, that in this case groundeth himself on *Malum bene conditum ne moveas*. For *malum* it is indeed, but *conditum* it is not, and *bene* it never will be ; wherefore *necesse est moveri*. And this I dare stand to in argument, that where I devised an exaction of twelve pence in the pound, if the mony thus continue, your majesty by reason of the mints shall exact above six shillings of the pound, and yet be undone your self at length, unless ye purchase land withal.

“ And whether it hath made your majesty rich or no, I cannot tell ; but I am sure this coinage, since the first beginning, hath exacted upon your subjects already above eight shillings in the pound.

“ As for their frivole reasons, that allege three parts of the four through the realm to fare the better for it, I will not say, that either they understand little of policy, or else they would be glad to become commoners themselves. But this I dare avow, that there is not one of hundred, no, not one of thousand, that is contented with this coin.

“ Helas ! can we suffer neither fault nor remedy ? Neither war nor peace ?

Your majesty's most humble servant,
WILLIAM THOMAS.”

And we shall hear, not long after, what effectual care the king took for the bettering the estate of the coin of the nation.

The wars with Scotland, and the keeping and defending of Boloign, and other pieces on that side, against the French, created the king much trouble and charge of men and treasure. This summer, Sir Thomas Chamberlain and Dr. Thomas Smith, being ambassadors with the emperor, were raised two thousand men in the Low Countries for the service of the wars, the emperor granting licence to levy them, and for their safe passage into England. And in January following, Mr. John Dymock, the king's servant, was sent over by the protector and council, secretly to repair to Sir Philip Hoby, the king's ambassador now with the emperor, to raise two thousand men more. And Sir Philip had command to acquaint the emperor, that a great part of the former 2000 men were dead and spent in the wars of the last year, and the number being grown very small, the king, desiring to have 2000 foot men more to be levied about the parts of Freezland, prayed the emperor's good permission thereof in respect of the treaty of amity between them. And it seemed to be granted.

1548.
Soldiers
raised for
the king in
the Low
Countries.
p. 106.

Upon the war likely to be with France, which looked severely upon the state of the kingdom at this troublesome time at home, it was piously ordered by the privy council, that prayers should be made in all churches in the diocese of Westminster to Almighty God, for the success of the king's arms, and for the restoring of peace. The council's letter to Thirleby, Bishop of Westminster, was as followeth:

Prayers
appointed
upon the
tidings of
war.

"After our harty commendations to their good lordship, hearing tell of great preparation made of foreign princes, and otherwise; being inforced for the procurement and continuance of peace to make preparation for war; forsomuch as all power and aid vailable cometh of God, the which he granteth, as he hath promised by his holy word, by nothing so much as by harty prayer of good men; the which is also of more efficacy made of a whole congregation together, gathered in his holy name:

The coun-
cil's letters
to the Bi-
shop of
Westmin-
ster.
Regist.
Thirlb.

"Therefore this is to will and require you to give

1548. advertisement and commandment to all the curates in your diocess, that every Sunday and holy day in their Common Prayer they make devout and hartly intercession to Almighty God for victory and peace. And to the intent you should not be in doubt what sort and manner we do like, we have sent unto you one; the which we would that you and they should follow, and read it, instead of one collect of the King's Majesties Process. Thus we pray you not to fail to do with all speed, and bid you farewell from Westminster, the 6th of May, 1548.

Your loving friends,

E. Somerset.

R. Rich, Canc.

W. Seint John.

J. Russel.

T. Cheine."

The Dane
offers a
mediation
to England.

Christopher Mount was the king's agent, as he had been his father's, among the protestant princes of Germany; and being resident at Strasburgh, he happening in discourse with the Danish ambassadors there about English matters, they shewed more than once their master's great concern for the differences between England and France, and how ready he would be to be a mediator for a right understanding between both princes; and so they had declared before to Thirlby, Bishop of Westminster, and Sir Phil. Hoby, ambassador with the emperor. This Mount writing to the court, the English were willing to hearken unto the motion; and the rather, because that being now at war with Scotland, the amity of the King of Denmark, whose country adjoined near thereunto, would be no little advantage to England. Upon this occasion therefore, October 4, the protector wrote to Hoby, in a letter from Sion, that this was not to be refused, being so gently offered, and that he should take some occasion to talk hereupon with the Danish ambassador, and in discourse that he should declare the wrong the English had received from France, and how unjustly the French had handled them: as, in not paying the pension, by the treaty at the last conclusion of peace due unto us, in

p. 107.

The pro-
tector's
letter here-
upon.
Galba,
B. 12.

The inju-
ries of the
French.

place and time there expressed; fortifying against the treaty; keeping away from the king's majesty, fines and other things there in Boloignois. Besides, that upon every pretence when they would, they robbed and killed our men, and said their king had commanded them so to do, by way of revenge; and that if one bullock were taken (by the English in Boloignois, where they bordered upon the French territories, and so might sometimes steal from one another) to take twenty, if one were killed, to kill forty: and that upon only surmise, and no proof of justice. And under pretence of Scots, if there were but one Scot in their ships, yea, and sometimes none, they robbed and spoiled the king's subjects on the seas, and then sold their goods openly in their havens and other places: and then, when they listed, said, they were Scots. And so Petro Strozzi both going and coming, and tarrying, being the French king's lieutenant, yet pill'd and took our men, and burnt our ships so many as he could get, so that the English were enforced somewhat also to do against him. 1548.

And for Scotland the ambassador was commanded to set out the right that the king had to that kingdom, which he knew well enough, and to shew that yet, for a quiet amity between the realms, the king's father was content that the king that now is should marry the young Queen of Scots. And that hereunto the Scots condescended by the whole parliament of the three estates, and under the great seal of Scotland, which was then to shew. And that the French king, notwithstanding all this, not only had aided the Scots against the king's majesty, their sovereign lord, with money and men, but also now lastly, had taken away the young queen; and by that means taken away the best and most quiet way of concord betwixt these two realms, and defrauded the king's majesty of his lawful and promised wife. And now the French king had said, that he would marry her to the Dauphin. The which things, as the ambassador was instructed to say, were not sufferable to any mean

1548. lord or prince, much less to a king as he was. And though his majesty was young, yet that his power was able enough to see redress and revenge in these matters, as this last year it had appeared. When, notwithstanding French powers there sent, the king had not only defended his realm against the French, but against all Scotland too. But how far this mediation by the Danish king was carried, I cannot ascertain, finding no more of this matter. To be sure, the hostility still continued between both nations till the end of the next year.

Ammuni-
tion for
Newcastle.

p. 108.

And to be prepared with ammunition against any insults from Scotland, an order came May 16, from the protector and privy council, to deliver out of the Tower, for Newcastle, for supply of the stores there, hand-guns complete 800, fine cornpowder three last, serpentine powder ten last, matches 800 weight, salt-petre in roche half a last, brimstone two barrels, bows of yough a thousand, bowstrings forty gross, demy lances 400, northern staves 200, morice-pikes 2700, horse harness 20.

Wrongs
done to the
merchants
of Ant-
werp.

April the 10th, had a treaty been agreed to for the continuation of the price of wool, between the emperor and the king, during his minority. But notwithstanding this and other treaties, our merchants at Antwerp met now lately with much unfair dealings from the government there, by laying heavier taxes and duties upon them than they ought to have done, by virtue of privileges granted the English traders, ratified by pacts and covenants: which were now grievously violated. Whereat the English complaining and finding no redress, the governor of the merchants residing in the said town, made a decree that they should trade no more there. And accordingly they withdrew their effects; which was no small detriment to the place, and to the emperor in his revenues. This gave great offence at that court; and it was urged as an infringement of the intercourse of treaties. Secretary Smith, together with Sir Thomas Chamberlain, who were at this court this summer,

Debates
thereupon.

and came partly to adjust and settle the matter, had 1548.
several meetings with the president of the council,
and others that were commissioners, who shewed
great passion and much disturbance at this withdraw-
ing of the English and their trade. The said presi-
dent affirmed, the officers of Antwerp had done no
injury to our merchants. He asked them, how the
emperor would be satisfied, that a governor of mer-
chants in his dominions should make statutes to
forbid the traffic from his town of Antwerp, and
cause the merchants to depart thence so tumultuously
as they did. And so aggravated the matter, saying,
that the emperor both would and should punish the
same.

Smith, the English ambassador, on the other hand, Secretary
who liked well enough what the merchants had done, Smith, am-
said more calmly, that there had nothing been done, bassador,
but what might be done by the intercourse and privi- his dis-
leges, and upon just occasion. But the emperor's course.
commissioners looked that, on the English ambassa-
dors' parts, they should have yielded in somewhat,
and consented to some of these unjust impositions,
what they did not.

At a fourth meeting, when it was expected that
they should come to some conclusion, the president,
who had been answered over and over, was still as
hot as he was before. But Secretary Smith being by
him required to speak what he had to say, answered
gravely, that he wondered to see them now so far off,
when he took the conclusion rather to be at hand,
seeing that afore they had so fully answered, as it
seemed, they themselves could not but allow their
answers. Notwithstanding he said, if they would be
so precise, and that reason might not serve, and see-
ing the king's majesty had purposely sent them to
pacify the differences between the English merchants
and them of Antwerp, meaning none other but con-
tinuance of amity betwixt both princes and their
subjects, the king's majesty, he said, would not forsake
his subjects. Whereat the president began again to

1548. startle, and asked, whether the king did more regard
 p. 109. a governor of merchants and his fact, than the
 amity of an emperor. But he was answered so
 reasonably and fully, as reason required. Then the
 said president cast them in the teeth with the con-
 tinuance of the merchants still from Antwerp; and
 that three of them, of late should say to some of the
 citizens of Antwerp, that they durst buy no wares of
 them for danger of their statute.

The mer-
 chants
 blamed for
 breaking
 their own
 orders.

But however such was the covetousness of the mer-
 chants, that though they were thus withdrawn, and
 their trade suspended for a while, for their general
 benefit; yet some of them did under-hand bring over
 clothes to Bruges, notwithstanding the protector's
 prohibition and stay of their ships; and also did buy
 at Antwerp, contrary to their own statute and ordi-
 nance. Whereby they had forfeited large sums, out
 of which the king was to have a third part. At which

Chamber-
 lain offend-
 ed thereat.
 Galba,
 B. 12.

Sir Tho. Chamberlain, ledger ambassador at Brussels,
 was highly offended, and affirmed, as he wrote to
 Sir William Paget, that till the king did take the
 same forfeiture and made them smart, they would
 never keep order, but for their private lucre undo,
 if they might, the commonwealth. And that it was
 their fashion, even when they made their statutes,
 and swore to observe the same, even forthwith to seek
 by collusion and colour to break the same: generally
 saying, that every man transgressing shall cause a
 general pardon among them. And thus, he said,
 they mocked with God and the world, and were
 perjured daily.

The king's
 care of his
 merchants.

For these and other misdemeanors
 of these merchants, the said Chamberlain protested,
 that after this time, for his part, he would never wish
 the king to be at more charge and trouble with mer-
 chants' affairs than other princes were, seeing his
 majesty did for them that which none other prince,
 that he knew of, did for their merchants; and yet
 took off the greater customs, and cared not whether
 they sunk or swam, wheresoever they went with their
 merchandize. He professed that he was sorry that

ever the king's majesty entered into this matter, and should be troubled with such rude folks, that esteemed not their own weals, nor who did for them. Wherefore in conclusion he prayed Paget, that till he heard of their, with the other commissioners' agreement, it would not be ill in his opinion, to stay them of shipping thither; which should be the only way to bring them to a conclusion with honour. For that he had intelligence by good and substantial advice, that they of Antwerp would fain the commissioners on both sides were at a point: and also they that set the greatest brag thereupon said, that they wot not how to frame it, to redub all with their honour. This letter was writ July 24. And thus it stood now with the merchants of Antwerp.

1548.

CHAP. XIV.

p. 110.

The condition of the protestants in Germany related by the English ambassador there. The Interim. The Elector of Saxony. Allen, a conjuror, reports the king dead. Seized and examined. Underhil a memorable man in these times.

UPON occasion of an English ambassador now residing in Germany, we have an opportunity of seeing how the protestant affairs went in those parts. Thurleby, the Bishop of Westminster, lately went home, and in his room Sir Philip Hoby was now the king's ambassador to the Emperor Charles, then at a diet at Ausburgh. Thence, in the month of July, the said ambassador wrote a letter to the Duke of Somerset, the protector, of the news then stirring, chiefly in reference to the religion, "That the emperor, at the conclusion of the diet was bent to cause the protestants to observe the *Interim*; that he had used both fair means and foul to bring his purpose to pass; and that by the latter means divers were brought to submit to it against their wills. That the towns of Constance, Argentine and

The emperor enjoins the Interim.

1548.
Several
towns re-
fuse it.
Linda.

Linda refused it. The last wherof sent their secretary to the emperor to Ausburgh with this message, that they had all met together, and found the Interim so disagreeable to God's word (whose laws they were bound upon pain of damnation to observe) that they were resolved not to accept of it; fearing more of God's threatnings, and his just indignation against such as neglected his will and the scriptures, then the loss of goods, life, or any other temporal thing. But that the emperor's majesty should not think it was don out of obstinacy or disobedience (whom they acknowledge for their prince) they would not refuse or resist him, howsoever he should dispose of them. Nor should their gates be shut to any of his soldiers, whether Spanish or Italians; yea, content that he should take their goods or lives from them; and that he should not need to go about this with a strong hand: for it should suffice but to command them, and they would gladly offer their heads to the blocks. Upon this message Grandvel, the emperor's great counsellor, threatned them desperately.

The Duke
of Wittem-
burgh taxes
such as
heard
mass.

p. 111.

Duke of
Saxony
will not
promote
the Inte-
rim.

The Duke of Wittemburgh, having received the Interim from the emperor, with commandment to see it take place throughout his country, did not then make a shew of disobeying the emperor, but received his "commission reverently. But shortly after, without taking any notice of the reception of the Interim, caused proclamation to be made, that each person, for every time he heard mass, should pay eight ducats of gold. Whereby he forbad not the mass to be said, but required a tribute of such as heard it. He was aged, and sometimes mery-conceited.

"Grandvel also required, in the emperor's name, that the Duke of Saxony, at that time the emperor's prisoner, should promote this his desire for the peace of Germany, considering how well his majesty had deserved at his hands by rendering his imprisonment easy. He piously answered, that his body was in the

emperor's hands, and he might use his carcass as it liked him; but he prayed his majesty not to press him to yield to this, which was against the word of God. Upon this the emperor being offended, clapt upon him a guard of three hundred Spaniards more than he had before, and disarmed his servants of all their arms, and dismissed his servants, being seventy in number, reducing them to twenty-seven. His preacher was also sent away upon pain of burning, if he stayed any longer. And his cooks and officers, upon the same pain, were commanded to dress no flesh for him on Fridays and Saturdays, and other fasting days. Yet herewith the duke seemed so little moved, as there was no alteration perceived in him." These and other things may be read more at large in the ambassador's letter in the Cotton Library.

1548.

Titus, B. 2.

Y.

About the 11th or 12th of July, Hoby, the said ambassador, was visited by Don Alonso Vides, a Spaniard, who was master of the camp to the emperor, and had the custody of the Duke of Saxony. This man, upon occasion of talk (as Hoby related it in another letter to the duke) began to set forth the duke's patience and wisdom; lamenting that his case was not so ordered as by policy he might be won to the emperor's devotion: which, he said, in his mind was easy enough to bring to pass. For he said, he had talked and discoursed with him sundry times, and did very well perceive his stiff sticking to his opinion to proceed of no ignorance or lack of knowledge: for he was witty, and even as well seen in the scripture, and knew as much by that he had read in his mother tongue, as all the whole heap of learned men of Germany could tell him. And how is it possible, added he, that a man of such wisdom and knowledge, remaining in captivity, having lost such and so many possessions, and deprived of the electorship, a dignity of no small estimation, should be brought to grant to a thing so far disagreeable to that doctrine, whereof he was and had been the chiefest stay and head. Was it like, demanded he, that he having

A Spaniard's communication with Hoby about the elector.
Titus, B. 2.

1548. nothing left him but the estimation that those men had him in, would by granting to that *Interim* lose that also, without assurance thereby to be restored to his former estate and dignity? He assured the ambassador, he should not take him to be a man of that wit that he hitherto had judged him of, if he would upon so slender a ground and small a hope yield to that thing, the utter blemish and defacing of this estimation, that was alone without any other comfort left him. But were not his majesty, as he went on, guided in this case by such as regarded not so much his honour and quietness, as their own affection and profit, he assured the ambassador, the elector might easily have been won. And by the small practice he had of his nature and disposition, he would jeopard his head to be lost, if he did not; and that within a short space, win him to yield to the emperor's request, so that his majesty would therein be content to follow his advice and counsel: "For I pray you,"

p. 112. said he, "what may all this strait keeping and threatening words avail to fear him, whose manly heart is so far past all dread, that he seemeth to contemn, as setting nothing by, whatsoever shall happen unto him. Such is his valiant stomach and princely courage. No, no," said he, "it must be gentleness shall win him; and not gentle words only, but answerable deeds also. That he may perceive an unfeignedly good will burn towards him, let him be again restored to his electorship, placed in his dukedom, at his liberty, and perceive himself to be favoured of his majesty, and then my life on it, he will be so conformable, and shew himself as true and as faithful a prince toward his majesty, as the best of them that now make the proudest brags. And what good this gentleman being reconciled may do; how much he may serve for the setting forth of his majesty's service, and for the stay and quietness of Germany, may of all wise men be easily gathered; and therefore ought with the greater study to be travailed."

Unto all this discourse Hoby made no answer,

neither discommending, nor approving of it; but only gave him the hearing. But in relating it to the protector, he shewed him, how he might perceive the opinions of men there, and how this gentleman's patience and constancy was by worldly persons judged to proceed of worldly wisdom and policy, like as others affirmed it to be the grace and assistance of God that did aid and strengthen him.

1548.
Hoby's
thoughts
thereof.

Hoby did also at this time send to the protector a note of certain articles of the *Interim*, to which the protestants would not agree. Which were as follow:

Articles
of the In-
terim, dis-
allowed by
the pro-
testants.

“De Autoritate et Potestate Ecclesiæ.

De Confirmatione.

De Sacramento Pœnitentiæ.

De Cæremoniis et Usu Sacramentorum.

De Memoria Defunctorum in Christo.

De Memoria Sanctorum in Altaris Sacrificio fieri consueta, et eorum Intercessione inibi expetita; et obiter.

De Sanctorum Invocatione.

De sacra Uncione.

De Sacramento Eucharistiæ.

De Sacramentis in Genere.

De Pontifice summo, et Episcopis.”

With these the people of the town of Auspurgh, where the ambassador now was, were not satisfied; and against them certain learned men there protested, and would not agree to, as the same ambassador signified: adding, that the emperor seemed to desire to appease and allure them by gentleness and fair means; and therefore had caused, on a certain Sunday in July, a certain exhortation of his to be read to the people in each church; whereby he did desire them, seeing he had travailed so much about their quietness, and set forth this thing for the establishment of the same, (wherein he had in many things yielded to their own desire and request,) that they also, shewing themselves loving and obedient subjects, would for their part be content to bear with the rest, and grant to his request. But Hoby signi-

Of Aus-
purgh.

1548. fied, how that those of that town had not as yet answered hereunto; neither had they hitherto altered their religion, but used the same as they had been accustomed. The papists had good hope it should not long continue in that state; the protestants, on the other side, trusted it should not be altered: but commandment in the mean time was given to the men of this town in the emperor's name, that from henceforth they should eat no flesh on the Fridays, Saturdays, nor on any fasting days. Duke Maurice, his subjects being by him required to accept the *Interim*, made answer, that they had both the emperor's hand and seal, whereby he promised not to meddle with matters of religion, but with reformation of the commonwealth; which they doubted not, they said, but his majesty would hold, and not press them against his promise, to grant to this thing, which they would not agree to. And they exhorted the said duke to solicit this their suit to his majesty, which if he would not do they plainly told him, they would not fail to find such a prince and head as should see his subjects take no wrong. How this answer would be liked of the emperor, the ambassador told the protector, to whom he wrote all this, his grace would easily judge.

And Duke
Maurice's
dominions.

Allen, a
conjurer,
reports the
king dead.

Here at home, about the month of July, a sudden report flew through London, that King Edward was dead; which arriving to the court troubled them. The occasion whereof was this: there was one Allen, whom people called *the prophesier*, that pretended by casting figures to tell things to come, and to prognosticate of the length of men's lives. This fellow was much courted by the papists to calculate the life of King Edward: who did so, and giving assured belief to his own art, confidently gave out about this time, that the king was dead. This spread like lightning. The court hearing the rumour at midnight, sent to Sir John Gresham, the mayor, to apprehend the persons if he could find them, that raised this false report; the king being alive and well. Edward Underhil, one

of the guard of gentlemen pensioners, the next morning came to the mayor, requiring of him some officers to apprehend the raiser of this lye, having learned where he had a chamber. The mayor sent two officers with him, who found Allen in St. Paul's. These carried him away to his own chamber; where they saw figures set to take the nativity of the king, and a judgment given of his death, (I use the words of Underhil's own narration;) whereof this foolish wretch thought himself so sure, that he and his counsellors, the papists, bruited it all over, as was said before. The king lay at Hampton Court the same time, and the lord protector at Sion. To him Allen was brought with his books of conjurations, circles, and many things belonging to that devilish art. He affirmed before the protector, that it was a lawful science, and that the statute against such was repealed. "Thou foolish knave," said my lord, "if thou, and all that be of thy science, tell me what I shall do to-morrow, I will give thee all that I have."

1548.

Foxii MSS.

He was committed to the Tower; and the protector wrote a letter to Sir John Markham, then being lieutenant, to cause him to be examined by such as were learned. Mr. Markham, as he was both wise and zealous in the Lord, talked with him: unto whom he did affirm, that he knew more in the science of astronomy than all the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Whereupon he sent for one Mr. Record, a doctor of physick, and very learned in divinity also, who examined him, and found that he knew not the rules of astronomy, but proved a very unlearned man and a sorcerer: for the which, said Record, he was worthy hanging.

Sent to the Tower.

For further matter with him, the lieutenant and Mr. Underhil, who brought him to the Tower, sent for Thomas Robins, alias Morgan, commonly called Little Morgan, brother unto Great Morgan, of Salisbury-court, the great dicer. For he had formerly told Underhil many stories of Allen, what a cunning man he was, and what things he could do, as to make a

p. 114.

1548. woman love a man; to teach men how to win at the dice; what should become of this realm: nothing but he could do it. When this Morgan and Allen were brought together, Morgan utterly denied that ever he had seen him, or known him. Yes, said Allen, you know me, and I know you. For he had confessed that before his coming. Upon this the lieutenant stayed Little Morgan also prisoner in the Tower.

Morgan
seized.

Allen's
chambers.

Allen had his chambers in divers places of the city, whither resorted many women for things stolen or lost, and to know their fortunes, and their children's fortunes: and where the russling roisters, the dicers, made their matches.

Gascon
seized.

Underhil caused also to be apprehended Gascon, the lawyer; at whose house this Allen was much, and had a chamber, a great dicer also: where were many things practised too. Here citizens' wives had meetings of debauchery, their husbands innocently letting them resort thither, upon pretence the women made of going there to enquire for things lost or stolen; which they hid for the nonce to blear their husbands' eyes. By this means Gascon, as pander, had choice for himself, and for his friends, the young lawyers of the Temple.

Allen ex-
amined be-
fore the
king's visi-
tors.

This Allen, a Norfolk man born, was called, *The God of Norfolk*, before they received in those parts the light of the gospel; and was a great doer in judgments in divers matters there. This man was had before the king's commissioners, and being before them, he required to talk with one of the council, saying, if he were unburthened of that, which he would then say, he cared not what came of him. He said also before the commissioners, that he could make the great *Elixir*. Also he stood earnestly before them, that he could say more concerning astrology, and astronomy, than all the learned men within the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, though he understood no part of the Latin tongue.

Sir John Godsalue, one of the commissioners for

the royal visitation, 1547, required the other commissioners to demand of Allen, whether he did not say unto two men, yet living, ten days before the apprehension of the Lord Crumwel, that the said Lord Crumwel should be in the Tower within fourteen days following. This question being demanded of him, he denied not that he said so; but said, that he spake it not of his own knowledge, but of others. But Allen, and the others mentioned before, after a year's imprisonment, were by friendship delivered. But Underhil, the proctor and discoverer of this pack, they endeavoured to take away by sorcery.

1548.

Of this gentleman I shall here add a few things, being one that deserves to have his name preserved in history, though nothing hitherto in any ecclesiastical commentaries of our nation be said of him. For he was a man zealous for pure religion against superstition and impieties of all sorts, and made a figure in King Edward VI. his days. I will first relate what his quality was, and then make report of certain of his actions.

Some account of Underhil.

He was of a good family, (son of Thomas Underhil, of Honington, in Warwickshire, esquire,) and first bred a soldier under Sir Richard Crumwel, in the journey to Laundresey. The next year, when King Henry VIII. made an expedition against Bulloign, being a stout and personable man, Sir Richard put him unto his majesty in the room of a man at arms. In this band there were two hundred, all mounted upon barded horse in one suit of red and yellow damask, (the bards of their horses and plumes of feathers being of the same colour,) to attend upon his majesty for the defence of his person. Afterwards for his deserts, he served the king in the band of gentlemen pensioners, as he did after to King Edward and Queen Mary. In the days of King Edward, he was of such good esteem, and so well known, and beloved by the nobility, that having a son born, during the short reign of Queen Jane, she was godmother, and named him after her husband's name, Guilford,

p. 115.
His quality.

1548. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton's lady being her deputy, the Duke of Suffolk, and the Earl of Pembroke, godfathers. Immediately after the christening was done, Queen Mary was proclaimed in Cheapside; the deputy-godmother returning to the Tower to wait upon her lady, found the cloth of state taken down, and all things defaced belonging to Jane as queen, and she as well as her mistress made prisoners.

Follows
bad com-
pany;

At first Underhil followed loose company, gamesters and ruffians. Some of them were these dicers: Great Morgan, of Salisbury-Court; Sir John Palmer, called Buskin Palmer; Sir Miles Partridge; lusty young Rafe Bagnal, men infamous in King Edward's days: yet in favour among the magistrates, and were advanced, though they were the sowers of sedition, and destroyers of the two dukes. These were the court-flatterers, and knew well the old proverb:

He that will in court abide,
Must curry fault both back and side.

But leaves
them,

To these was Allen the conjurer joined, of whom we have spoken before: but Underhil soon forsook them, by reading the scriptures and hearing the preachers; and then, as some satisfaction to the world, he put forth a satire against the wickedness of these men, revealing the falsehood and knavery that he was made privy to. For this they hated him mortally. They called him *The hot gospeller*, jesting and mocking him; and would say of him, *He is all of the Spirit*. It was their common custom at their tables to jest and scoff the preachers and earnest followers of the gospel. Even among the magistrates and lords they would spend the time in wanton and ribald talk; which, when they fell into, one or other would look through the board, saying, take heed that Underhil be not here. And these persons, those of them that survived, (for Palmer and Partridge died by the hand of justice,) at the change of prince, readily complied with Queen Mary's religion, and then became infamous.

Of Underhil they raised scandals, and false bruits, saying, he was a spy for the Duke of Northumberland; and called him *Hoper's Champion*. He was so indeed: for Hoper, being a zealous reformer, drew upon himself great envy; insomuch that he was abused with railing libels cast into pulpits against him, and by other ways: but Underhil, who was a very witty man, set up a bill upon St. Paul's door in defence of Hoper, and another at St. Magnus church, where especially such ignominious lampoons had been divulged against that reverend man. For the fixing up these sort of bills was common in those times.

1548.
They hate
and raise
scandals of
him.

p. 116.

How this Underhil apprehended a vicar of Stepney for hindering the preaching of the gospel in his own church in King Henry's reign, and bringing him before the Archbishop of Canterbury, was told in another book. These following are acts which he did in the reign of King Edward:

His actions

Cranmer's
Memorials.

At Stratford on the Bow, he took the pix from the altar of copper, stored with copper gods, the curate being present, and a popish justice dwelling in the town, called Justice Tawe. There had been an injunction, that the pix should no more hang in a string over the altar; the meaning whereof was, that it should be taken wholly away: but the papists thought to obey the injunction, and withal to preserve their *pix*, and so they set it upon the altar. This stirred the zeal of Underhil to observe how the orders of the government were illuded by such shifts as these: which made him, living not far off, viz. at Limehouse, to go himself and put it away. For this act the justice's wife, with the women of the town, conspired to have murdered him; whereof one of the parties gave him warning, whose good will to the gospel was unknown to the rest: and by that means, being aware of them, he took care and preserved himself from them.

Takes
away pix
out of the
Bow
church.

There was one Luke, a physician in London, who wrote divers books against the papists, in the end of

Frees Day,
the printer.

1548. King Henry's reign; for which he had been imprisoned in the Fleet. In the first year of King Edward, he published one book, for which he was heavily cried out upon by the papists to Sir John Gresham, the lord mayor. It was a Dialogue between *John Boon* and Master *Parson*; which two persons were brought in reasoning together of the natural presence in the sacrament. But the author had concealed himself. It was writ very facetiously, and sprinkled with wit, severely biting now and then at the priests. The book took much at the court, and the courtiers wore it in their pockets: but the mayor had the book so illy represented unto him, that he was very angry, and sent for Day, the printer of it, intending to make him discover the author, and to lay him in prison for printing the same. Underhil chanced to come in at this time, to desire aid of the mayor to take Allen, before spoken of, who reported the king's death. The mayor made Underhil dine with him, and speaking to him at dinner concerning this book, the maker whereof he told him he intended to search for, that so, as it seems, Underhil might declare at court, the diligence of the mayor in his office; he presently replied to him, That that book was a good book, adding, that he had himself one of them about him, and that there were many of them in the court. With that the mayor desired to see it, and took it and read a little, and laughed thereat, as it was both pithy and merry. And by this seasonable interposition of Underhil, John Day, the printer, sitting at a side-board, after dinner was bidden to go home, who had else gone to prison.

p. 117.
Prosecutes
the wood-
mongers.

The woodmongers in this king's reign had wronged the city in their firing extremely, by setting false marks upon their billets. Underhil being moved with this piece of dishonesty to the injury of the public, complained of them, presenting them, and had a long conflict with them: for which he drew a great deal of spite upon himself from them, which they uttered in the next reign; when, being put into

Newgate, they required the keeper to shew him no favour, and to lay irons upon him, declaring that he was the greatest heretick in London. 1548.

He was of so active a spirit, and so inquisitive into wicked and superstitious practices, that he made himself the mark of evil men's rancor and violence. Loose lords and ladies, priests and lawyers, wizzards, knaves, whores, bawds, thieves and gamesters, so hated him, that, as he writ in his narrative, "He walked as dangerously as Daniel among the lions; and yet from them all the Lord delivered him, notwithstanding their often devices and confederacies by violence to have shed his blood, or with sorcery destroyed him." But though he escaped in King Edward's time, having the countenance of authority, yet he had his share of sorrow and persecution in the reign of Queen Mary; as we may see when we come to that time. His great dangers.

CHAP. XV.

Preaching suspended. Pensions. Term put off. Exportation of corn forbid. The state of the coin. Melancthon writes to the king. Bucer and Martyr placed in the Universities. Sharrington of the Mint attainted: and the Lord Admiral. His practices. His ill life. His death.

NOTWITHSTANDING the care used in licensing fit preachers, the sermons now preached gave much offence: for several who had preaching licences, either from the king, the lord protector, or the archbishop, (for none else might give them out,) and who at the receiving those licences had good advice given them for their discreet using them, yet had abused this their authority, and behaved themselves irreverently, and without good order in their preaching, contrary to such good instructions and advertisements as were suggested to them; whereby much contention and disorder was in danger of arising in the realm. Notice given of the framing an uniform order of prayer.

1548. Wherefore the king, by a proclamation, Sept. 23, inhibited all preachers for a time, and gave notice of a publick form of divine service ere long to be expected. He told his subjects, "That minding to see very shortly one uniform order throughout his realm, and to put an end to all controversies in religion; so far as God should give grace, (for which cause at that time, as he added, certain bishops and notable learned men, by his commandment were congregated,) he thought fit to inhibit for a time, till that order should be set forth, as well the said preachers so before licensed, as all manner of persons whosoever they were, to preach in open audience in the pulpit, or elsewhere. To the end that the whole clergy, in this mean space, might apply themselves to prayer to Almighty God for the better atchieving of the said most godly intent and purpose. Not doubting, but his loving subjects, in the mean time, would occupy themselves to God's honour, with due prayer in the church, and patient hearing of godly homilies, heretofore set forth by his Injunctions; and so endeavour themselves, that they might be the more ready with thankful obedience to receive a most quiet, godly and uniform order, to be had throughout all his realms and dominions. And to see the infringers of this commandment to be imprisoned, he gave charge to all justices, maiors, sheriffs, bailiffs and constables."

All preachers inhibited.

The king takes care for paying his pensions.

When chantries and such like foundations were by a statute given to the king in his parliament, the incumbents thereof being discharged, for their livelihood had pensions allowed them, during their lives: for the king being minded to provide for those late incumbents of colleges, chantries, fraternities, guilds and such other, convenient and reasonable recompences and pensions according to the said statute, had commanded several letters patents to be made under the great seal of the court of augmentations, and the revenue of his crown, for the pensions and recompence of the said incumbents. But those that were appointed to pay these poor men were suspected to

deal hardly with them by making delays, or requiring 1548.
bribes and deductions out of the pensions, or fees for
writing receipts; as it appeared afterwards they did,
which occasioned an act of parliament in behalf of
these pensioners. Therefore by a proclamation, An. 2 and
dated the last day of October, published in every 3 Reg.
shire, the king signified that these pensions should Edw. 6.
presently be sent to the hands of the auditors, re- cap. 6.
ceivers and surveyors of the respective counties, with
strait commandment to believe the same patents im-
mediately, and to make payment unto the parties
when it concerned them, and hereafter yearly frank
and free, without fee, duty, or sum of money, to be
demanded or taken of the said pensioners. And
willed those persons who had to do herein to resort
to his highness's *audit* presently, to be held within
the county, or elsewhere the officers should be, and
there receive their pensions accordingly.

Towards the declining of the summer the king A plague.
kept his court in the country: in the beginning of
September he was at Hatfield; and at Leghes the
month after; occasioned, as it seems, by the plague,
which now afflicted the city and other places. The
danger of which infection made it advisable to put off
the term for about a month; which was therefore
done by a proclamation, dated at Hatfield aforesaid,
Sept. 6, to this import: "That the king's majesty
was credibly informed, that the infection of the plague
reigned in sundry places of the realm, and especially
within the cities of London and Westminster, and in
other places near adjoining to the same. And that
whereas, by the continuance of the same, through the
great repair and resort of his loving subjects, greater
peril and danger might not only ensue unto his most
royal person, but also unto his most loving subjects,
repairing thither for their suits and causes: his ma-
jesty, therefore, minding the preservation of his lov-
ing subjects, and being in hope that the same infec-
tion would, by the help of Almighty God, and through
the coldness of the year, the rather cease by the

1548. adjournment of the next term of St. Michael, from the *utas* of the same till the morrow after the feast of All Saints next coming; of his special favour and benignity, was pleased and contented to adjourn the said term of St. Michael from the *utas* thereof unto *Crastine Animarum* next coming; and willed and commanded his subjects to observe and keep their assembly and appearances, with all their returns and certificates, in his courts at Westminster, to be holden in like manner, form, and condition, as they should or ought to have been done, if this present proclamation of adjournment had not been had, made, and proclaimed."

Restraint
of exporta-
tion of
corn.

The prices of corn and other victuals now increased and rose in divers places within the realm, and the marches and confines of the same. Wherefore the king thought it meet, weighing most especially (as it ran in the proclamation) the wealth and commodity of his poor subjects, to have a restraint for a season of all manner of grain, tallow, and victuals, in all places within his realm. And therefore straitly charged and commanded all manner of persons, as well denizens as strangers, that they should not transport any manner of grain, butter, cheese, tallow, or any kind of victual, without his special licence under his great seal of England, upon pain to forfeit the grain, tallow, &c. and to be farther punished by imprisonment, &c. This bore date at Leighes, October 8, *an. secundo reg.*

A prohibi-
tion again
for the
king's oc-
casions.

This prohibition seemed to be relaxed again not long after. But in the month of January ensuing, the king being to equip and furnish out a navy and an army, put a stop again to the exportation of provisions, till himself were first served. For a proclamation went forth, dated from Westminster, Jan 18, That forasmuch as the king's highness at that present should occupy great provisions, he, by the advice of his most intirely beloved uncle, &c. straitly charged and commanded, that no manner of person, whosoever he were, should ship or lade, to the intent to

carry out of the realm, any wheat, malt, oats, barley, butter, cheese, bacon, cask, or tallow, any licence or grant heretofore made notwithstanding, until such time as his majesty's provision be fully certified and restored; upon pain that whosoever should, after the 22d of January this present year, and before the 20th of April, transport or carry into the parts beyond seas any of the foresaid things, or provisions, contrary to this present proclamation, &c. 1548.

The state of the coin of the nation at this present stood thus: The king had lately called in the testons, a coarse sort of money that went for 12*d.* the piece, though not worth half so much as to the intrinsic value; which occasioned vast numbers of false testons to be coined by stealth, and to pass about. Many, therefore, brought in these pieces to the king's mints. The smaller pieces of good coin, such as groats and half-groats, were now also for the most part so bent and battered, that they were hardly passable, and great boggle was made in the receiving them: by which means there was a great want of money to pass in ordinary exchange of buying and selling. This the king was sensible of; and for the speedy help and relief of his loving subjects, and to the intent that money and coin might be more plentiful hereafter in the realm, had caused several pieces of gold and silver, of various values, to be coined, and commanded the other pieces of silver to go current. The pieces of gold which were now coined were of four sorts, whereof the first was called the *sovereign of gold*, and was appointed to be current for twenty shillings in lawful money of England; another piece was called the *half-sovereign*, or *Edward's royal*, running for ten shillings of the lawful money aforesaid; one other piece of gold called the *crown*, running for five shillings; and the fourth piece was called the *half-crown*, for two shillings and sixpence. The pieces of silver newly coined were, first, a piece called a *shilling*, running for twelve pence of the lawful monies of England; one other piece or coin which should be called

The state
of the coin.

p. 120.

1548. the *half-shilling*, running for sixpence. All which pieces or coins, as well of gold as also of silver, the king by his proclamation signified it to be his pleasure and commandment, from henceforth to be current within his realms and dominions, according to their several rates and valuations before expressed. And moreover he straitly charged and commanded, that from henceforth all manner of groats, half-groats, pence, and halfpence, of his coins, being not counterfeits, current within his realms, not clipped nor fully broken, albeit they might be much crooked, should be taken, received, and paid, throughout the said realm, without any manner of refusal or denial. Wherefore he straitly charged and commanded all maiors, justices of peace, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and other his officers and subjects, that if any person or persons, of whatsoever state, &c. should refuse or deny to take and receive the said monies of gold, being weight, or any of the monies of silver before expressed, be it for merchandizes, victuals, change, or re-change, or other cause whatsoever, forthwith to take and arrest the same persons so making refusal or denial, and to put them in ward or prison, there to remain and further to be punished at the king's pleasure.

Melancthon writes to King Edward.

The great learned German divine, Philip Melancthon, addressed King Edward with a letter, dated the 13th of January; which one Francis Dryander, a learned protestant, brought and presented, who fled hither, as many other professors of religion out of foreign parts had done, for avoiding the persecution which the *Interim* occasioned. By which letter it appeared, that great consultations were now held here at home by the king, and some of his learned divines, not only concerning the reformation of this church, but of the other foreign churches too in Germany, Switzerland, France, Italy, and Spain, and for the uniting them together in one uniform doctrine; a matter thought fit for a royal breast: wherein the Archbishop of Canterbury was the great mover.—Melancthon, in his letter, commended the king for

this, and told him, " That he followed his royal father's example, whom he stiled *Sapientissimum Regem, A very wise King*; and that many in Europe well knew, how he, in the controversies of religion then moved, had it a great while in his serious thoughts, that care should be taken for the churches every where, by applying a due moderation to the different opinions of men in matters of religion, and that he liked not of oppressing truth with arms; and wished heartily that other kings had been of his mind. For (as he added) whereas some thought the concord of the church might be restored by arms, they judged amiss; and that the unjust counsils of oppressing truth, were neither pleasing to God, nor were long successful. That the wise king, his father, saw great diseases, and they of ancient date, in the church, to which there was high need of applying true and wholesome remedies. He beseeched God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, to over-rule the king's mind, and to amend the churches in his kingdom and elsewhere; that his glory might be truly set forth, and many might be truly converted to him, and at last made consorts with the Son of God for ever. But he advised him to take heed in this reformation, that men of ill principles mixed not corruptions; and that he would therefore do well, prudently to consider the senses and opinions, as well of his own people, as of the strangers, the guests of his kingdoms. And lastly, he commended to the king the bearer Dryander, as well learned and long known to him; that he was a man that judged aright of the controversies of religion, and withal his heart abhorred wild and seditious opinions. And therefore judged him a person that would be of good use as to the church of God, if he were placed in the university, or elsewhere in his kingdom." To these letters of foreign learned men, the king paid a great deference, and they had a great influence with him.

The king was beforehand with Melancthon in these motions, and had provided the two universities

1548.
Martyr
and Bucer
at the uni-
versities.

of the land with two learned foreigners, Peter Martyr to read divinity at Oxford, and Martin Bucer at Cambridge, both coming from Strasburgh, but Martyr first. These grave and learned doctors were placed there, the lord protector and the archbishop judging them the fittest persons to inform the students in their notions and doctrines concerning religion: because, as they were very learned in other sciences, so in divinity they took the holy scripture for their guide, and gathered their tenets from no other authority but from thence, according to the constant principle of that great and good archbishop. It was especially thought necessary, that the corrupt opinions about the *eucharist* should be rectified in the universities as well as elsewhere; and both these foreigners thought aright in this great point, though differing in their judgments in the expressions to be used about them. Bucer thought, that for avoiding contention, and for maintaining of peace and quietness in the church, somewhat more ambiguous words should be used, that might have a respect to both persuasions concerning the *presence*. But Martyr was of another judgment, and affected to speak of the sacrament with all plainness and perspicuity. Of this Bucer and he had some dispute at Strasburgh, before they set foot in England, as we are informed by Simler in his account of P. Martyr's life. By which it appears how much misrepresented these two persons have been by papists, and namely by two, Fecknam and Parsons: the former in Queen Mary's days affirmed to Bartlet Green, a prisoner for the cause of religion, and after a martyr, "That Peter Martyr was a papist at his first coming to Oxford, but perceiving the *wicked tenets* (as he stiled them) of the king's council (that is, to bring in another doctrine about the sacrament against the carnal presence), was content to please them, and to forsake the true catholic faith." The other, with much face and little shame, saith, both of Martyr and Bucer, that at their first coming into England, they were conditioned with to teach the

Misrepre-
sented by
papists.

p. 122.

Ward-
woord.
cap. 4.
vindicated.

religion, whatsoever it were, that should be established 1548.
in the parliament approaching.

But first, as for Fecknam's assertion concerning Martyr, it was undoubtedly a slander, since it appears by the writer of his life, that his opinion in that point of the sacrament was not according to the Roman doctrine, while he lived at Strasburgh. And the aforesaid Green, who had been a scholar at Oxford while P. Martyr was professor there, and the hearer of him, told Fecknam, that he had himself heard the said professor say often, that he had not, while he was a papist, read Chrysostom upon the tenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, nor many other places of the doctor's; but when he had read and well considered them, he was contented to yield to those doctors, having first humbled himself in prayer, desiring God to illuminate him, and bring him to the true understanding of the scripture; which was in all probability before he left Italy, or while he remained in Germany among those that professed the true doctrine. So that we may conclude him settled in that point of the sacrament before his arrival in England.

And as to what Parsons hath said, I leave the reader to Dr. George Abbot, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who gives this account of the matter: Abbot ag. Hil. p.103, 105.
"Parsons may have the name of a slanderer, who can glose and invent any thing which may serve for his purpose; as, that Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer were indented withal, to teach as the parliament should decree; implying, that whatsoever it had been, they must have condescended unto it. This lying Jesuit can shew no letter, no act of record, no testimony of semblance of truth, to aver this his calumination. But the matter indeed was, that the reformers of religion here, intending to level all by the line of God's word, knew that those two worthy men were so affected in all their teachings; and therefore, as also for their admirable learning and judgment, they made choise of them before all the great clarks

1548. which were in Europe. And that those who called them hither were not deceived in them, the excellent monuments which they left in writing behind them do testify to the world."

Sharing-
ton's frauds
in the mint.

Toward the latter end of this year the great and shameful frauds of Sir William Sharington, Knt. a chief officer of the king's mint, were discovered. He had in 1547 coined testons (a sort of money embased and under standard) to a great sum, without warrant, and contrary to a prohibition sent unto him. Also, he defrauded the king of clippings and shearings to the sum of 4000*l.* and above; and to make up the sum in his accounts, made the king's coin the lighter. And when the monthly books, shewing the doings of the mint, were brought to him, he used to strike out as much as he thought good; and that he might do this without being discovered, he falsified the indentures and writings which might have charged him. His gain by this means amounted to an unknown sum. For these causes he was clapped up in the Tower, and in February made a free confession of all, acknowledging himself worthy of death and grievous punishment, and upon his knees, with a most woeful heart, prayed for mercy. The original of this confession, drawn up by the hand of Sir Thomas Smith, secretary, and signed by Sharington himself, and attested by certain privy counsellors, having been sent to him in the Tower, I have seen.

p. 123.

Attainted.

In the month of February aforesaid he was attainted by parliament, and all his estate and lands given to the king. But the king pardoned him, as to life. This Sharington, to assist and abet the treason of the L. Seimour of Sudely, granted the mint at Bristow to be at his commandment: out of which the said lord designed to receive 10,000*l.* a month, for the payment of ten thousand men of his tenants, and servants and others, which were to be put in arms for his treasonous purpose.

Sharington's wealth may be guessed at by a purchase he made of the king, in this second year of his

reign, for the sum of 2808. 4. 10*ob.* and in consideration of the exchange of woods, land, and tenements, in the county of Essex, and in performance of King Henry the Eighth's will. The purchase was, all the manors of Awbery, Winterbourn, and Charlton, in the county of Wilts, with the appurtenances, lately parcel of the possessions and revenues of the college of St. Mary, and All Saints of Fotheringah, in the county of Northampton; and the whole farm called Barbury Leer, lying in Okeburn; and divers other lands and tenements in the counties of Northampton, Wilts, and Gloucester. Nay, and notwithstanding his forfeiture of all he had by his attain, yet it seems he was not so undone, but was able soon after to make a great purchase again: for in the fourth year of this king, for two great sums of money, viz. 4866. 2. 2. and 8000*l.* the said king granted him the lordships and manors of Lacock, Beaulieu, Natton, Woodrew, Send, Sendrew, Winterbourn, Charlton, Awbery, Avebury, Catcomb, Ladington, Cote, and Medburn; and the rectory of Lacock, in the county of Wilts, with the appurtenances, lately the said Sir W. Sharrington's; and divers other lands, tenements, and hereditaments, in the counties of Wilts, Gloucester, Berks, Devon, Somerset, and in Bristol, which also lately were the said Sharrington's. It seems, he had money enough still left to buy again what he had forfeited to the crown by his treason.

1548.
His wealth.
King
Edward's
book of
sales.

Indeed his repentance was looked upon to be sincere; insomuch that Latymer, in one of his sermons at court, took occasion to commend Sharrington for his honest confession of his fault. And as he was pardoned and restored in blood by the parliament in 1549, so he seems to have been soon restored to his offices again; for I find that in April, 1550, he, with Sir John Davies, was appointed to receive the first payment from the French, according to the articles of peace lately made, and to give their acquittance for it. And soon after he went over to Calais, and there received it.

Restored
to favour.

1548.
The admiral's crimes.

p. 124.

Near the conclusion of this year Sir Thomas Seimour, L. Seimour of Sudley, (a manor and castle in Gloucestershire, formerly belonging to the abby of Winchelcomb) uncle to the king, and lord high admiral of England, was beheaded on Tower-hill, for affecting the kingdom. But whereas it was wont to be much laid to the charge of the Duke of Somerset, his brother, as a point of his weakness, to yield to the taking him off, by whose life he might have been the stronger to have withstood his enemies: and that the quarrel between the brothers was occasioned by the strife of the two great ladies, their wives, for precedency, in which the men themselves became concerned: I think they are no better to be esteemed than stories raised by the giddy multitude, or by the duke's enemies, to impair his credit and reputation. For if we may believe the act of attainder, this lord was so ill a man, and his nature so utterly spoiled and corrupted by insolence and ambition, that it was not fit he should live in the state. For in the first year of the king's reign, he laboured by craft and sleight to get the government of the king's person from his brother, to whom it was granted by the consent of all the nobles, and himself among the rest. And when that would not do, soon after he proceeded to more open practices of tumults and stirs, thinking to make the king and parliament serve his turn. For he had the confidence to go to the young king, and moved him to write a letter to the parliament with his own hand; wherein he should desire them to be good to the Lord Seimour in such suits and matters as he should declare unto them. And to incline the king to do it, he had several about the king's person, his instruments to help it forward. And this letter he intended himself to carry to the lower house, and open the same in the upper; and had procured parties in either house to forward his purposes; to make a tumult and sedition both in the court and the whole realm. And he was heard to say, "That he would make the blackest parliament

that ever was seen in England." He did also prepare a great number of men, and of weapons; and he travailed with the most part of the council to help him to the government of the king's person. And in the parliament by himself, his friends and servants, he ever laboured to obstruct every thing that tended to the honour, surety and benefit of the king and his realms. He spread abroad sundry slanders touching the king's person, the lord protector and the whole state of the council; and they so vile as not fit to be repeated.

1548.

When all this was discovered and come to light, the good duke, his brother, was heartily grieved at it, and according to his gentle nature endeavoured by sober counsels to reclaim and save him, and to bring him to a better consideration of his duty to God and the king: and laboured with the whole council, and otherwise, to reconcile and reform him, who presently else must have perished in his folly. And though the protector then had perfect knowledge of all his attempts and misbehaviour; and though the admiral had said that he would not come to the lord protector or council, if they sent for him, or that he would not be committed to any ward for his doings by the best of them; yet the protector used still all good means according to his clemency, by persuasion of certain of the council, and otherwise, to frame him to amendment of his ill courses. And upon consideration of the state of things in the realm about the beginning of the king's reign, it was thought most meet for the king to pass his doings over with silence; and to bridle him with his liberality; and so gave him lands to the yearly value of eight hundred pounds. And by King Edward's *Book of Sales*, I observe this favour shewn him herein, that though his patent bore date the 19th of August, yet the time of the issues was reckoned from the Michaelmas before. This gift of the king is thus set down; "The lordship, manor and castle, and park of Sudeley, in the county of Gloucester, with the appurten-

The protector's gentleness towards him.

p. 125.

1548. nences, lately belonging to the monastery of Winchelcomb, in the same county, dissolved; and divers other lands and tenements in the counties of Gloucester, Wilts, Wigorn, Berks, Oxon, Kent, Sussex, Middlesex, Southampton, Stafford, Salop, Denbigh, (where Holt Castle stood, of which by and by) Bricon, Radnor, Essex, Bedford, Somerset, and Karnarvan."

Practiseth
again.

It was not long he continued quiet, notwithstanding these favours, but began to make a party and confederation, whereof himself would be head: and got rules and offices into his hands, and retained many gentlemen and yeomen in his service; inso-much that he told some of his familiars, that he was able to raise ten thousand men. For whose wages he devised ten thousand pounds by the month; which monies, by dealing with Sir William Sharington, he was to have out of the king's mint at Bristol, as was shewn before. He took up money, and ran in debt, owing to the said Sharington almost three thousand pounds. Into that strong castle of Holt he put a great quantity of wheat, malt, beef, and a great mass of money, for the feeding and entertainment of a number of men. And for the blinding of his doings there, he caused it to be bruited as though the king were dead. He laboured also with sundry noblemen and others, to join with him: devising with them, how and by what policy they should make themselves strong in their countries, and how they should win the head-yeomen and ring-leaders of the common people. He promised favours and benefits very liberally, nay, and gave a promise of the king himself in marriage to a nobleman's daughter in the realm. Moreover, he persuaded the king to take upon him the rule and order of himself, intending thereby to take the king into his own hands and government, and so to rule the affairs of the realm; and endeavoured to engender a hatred in the king's heart again his uncle the protector. But the king, though at that age, had the wisdom to resist that motion, and without any advice or counsel refused

his ill persuasion. He corrupted sundry of the privy chamber to move the king to write letters according to his and their devices, and to put into his head a singular favour and affection toward him, and a disposition to follow whatsoever the admiral would have wrought towards others, the better to compass his traiterous purpose. 1548.

And for farther token of his ambition, immediately after King Henry's death he bore an affection towards the Lady Elizabeth, the king's daughter, second person in remainder of the succession to the crown, and would have married her, if he could by any means. But he was stayed by the lord protector and other of the council. Then he married the relict of King Henry, Queen Katharin Par, whom he married privately first, and after sued to the king and the lord protector and the council, for his preferment to the match with her; whom nevertheless it was credibly spoken, he help to her end, to hasten his other purpose, which was still to marry the Lady Elizabeth. In which resolution he continued in his said wife's time, while she was alive; and by sundry secret and crafty means endeavoured the atchieving, since her death. And when the protector and council dissuaded him from this, and to forbear his pretended purpose, he would defend himself by asking, why he should not continue his suit towards the Lady Elizabeth, and did secretly and earnestly follow it, and did what he could to have married her. Courts the Lady Elizabeth.
Marries Queen Katharine.
p. 126.

And all this the parliament judged to be a traiterous aspiring to the crown of the realm, and to be king of the same, and an open deed and act, and a false and traiterous compass and imagination to depose and deprive his majesty. For more of his doings still; he abetted, assisted and maintained Sharrington in his traiterous frauds. When Sharrington brought in his false indentures, books and reckonings, he took them into his hands and custody, and affirmed that he had wrong to be committed to Judged by the parliament to aspire to the crown.
More of his ill deeds.

1548. prison, and endeavoured by all means he could to deliver him. So that one may conclude him privy to his cheats, if not a sharer therein. The admiral was also guilty of much oppression and extortion of the king's subjects, using *Island*, and other voyages by sea; and resolved upon revenge towards all with whom he was offended, which his own letters and other testimonies made appear.

His ill life. If we were minded to rake farther into his life, he lived dissolutely from his very youth. In the reign of King Henry VIII. about the year 1539 or 1540, a lewd woman that had lived an unclean life, and was condemned with some of her comrades for a robbery, as she went to execution, declared that Sir Thomas Seymour had first of all debauched her. And afterward she took to that unlawful course of life that led her to consort with rogues; and that brought her to her shameful end. Of which Latimer, then Bishop of Worcester, hearing, looked ever what would become of him, and feared that he would come to some bad end. And so this man fell from evil to worse, and from worse to worst of all, till at length he was made a spectacle to all the world. It was commonly reported of him that he disbelieved the immortality of the soul; and the little devotion that appeared in him at his death, which we shall speak of presently, made this report the more probable. The probability whereof appeared also too much in his general neglect of prayer and serving God. For when the good Queen Katharine his wife had daily prayers before and after noon in her house, the admiral would get him out of the way, and was a contemner of the Common Prayer. So that the grave father Latimer, in one of his sermons before King Edward, said, that he was a man the farthest from the fear of God that ever he knew or heard of in England. When he was upon the scaffold, and ready to be executed, a passage happened which shewed him still of the same turbulent and malicious mind he was of before, and that he had not yet sub-

dued his spirit, and brought it to that charitable frame 1548.
 that was proper for dying persons, that believe they
 are going into another world. He had a great mind
 to be revenged of his brother, the lord protector. His prac-
tice
against the
protector
his brother,
a little be-
fore his
death.
 And though he should be dead, and so could not
 practise himself his ruin, yet he endeavoured to
 kindle such coals as might afterwards cause others to
 do it. For when he was ready to lay his head upon
 the block, he turned to the lieutenant's servant, and
 said to him, that he should bid his servant *speed the
thing that he wot of*. And so immediately he laid down
 and died, having received two strokes of the ax. But
 the words he spake happened to be overheard. The
 admiral's servant hereupon was taken into examina-
 tion, who confessed that they were two letters which p. 127.
 his master had written in the Tower to the Lady His private
letters.
 Mary and the Lady Elizabeth, which he had enjoined
 him to take his opportunity to deliver. And that he
 had made his pen of the aglet of a point that he
 plucked from his hose; and made his ink some
 other way as craftily, and then had caused these
 two papers (which were but of a small quantity) to
 be sewed between the sole of a velvet shoe of his.
 And by this means these letters came to light, and
 fell into the hands of the protector and council. The
 contents of them tended to this end, that the two
 sisters should conspire against the protector, enfor-
 cing many matters against him, to make these royal
 ladies jealous of him, as though he had, it may be,
 practised to estrange the king their brother from
 them, or to deprive them of the right of their suc-
 cession. Both these papers Latimer himself saw
 and reported publickly in his fourth sermon before
 the king, though in the last edition of his sermons the
 passage be left out. This retaining of his malice and
 revenge to the last, made that good old father to
 say, "That he dyed *very dangerously, irksomely,
horribly*; and to conclude, that God had him left
 to himself, and had clean forsaken him. And then
 asked the question, what would he have don, if he

1548. had lived still that went about that geere, when he had laid his head on the block? and again, whether he be saved or no, I leave it to God, but surely he was a wicked man, and the realm is well rid of him." And this that reverend man said, to justify the protector and parliament in taking off this seditious man, and to shew, what a necessity there was of it, which some had thought very strange, considering his quality and relation both to the king and the protector; and therefore thought he was too rigorously dealt with. And some, because he seemed to die boldly, were apt to suppose him to die innocently.

He that would see more of this man may have recourse to the articles, drawn up against him in the Collections to the Bishop of Sarum's History of the Reformation.

Vol. II.
p. 158.
Orders for
his execu-
tion.

The admiral being condemned to die, the council dealt gently with him, and sent to him the Bishop of Ely to instruct and comfort him; by whom the said admiral made certain requests to the council; which what they were, and the method of his execution, take from an *authentic* MS. extracted as it seems out of the council book.

"This day, the 17th of March, the lord chancellor, and the rest of the king's majesty's council, meeting in his highness's palace of Westminster, heard the report of the Bishop of Ely; who, by the said lords, and other of the council, was sent to instruct and comfort the lord admiral. After the hearing whereof, consulting and deliberating within themselves of the time most convenient for the execution of said lord admiral, now attainted and condemned by the parliament, they did condescend and agree, that the said lord admiral should be executed the Wednesday next following, between the hours of nine in the forenoon, and twelve the same day, upon the Tower-hill, his body and head to be buried within the Tower; the king's writ, as in such cases heretofore hath been accustomed, being first directed, and sent forth for that purpose and effect.

“ Upon this, calling into the council-chamber the Bishop of Ely, they willed him to declare this their determination to the said lord admiral, and instruct and teach him the best he could to the quiet and patient suffering of justice, and to prepare himself to Almighty God. 1548.
p. 128.

“ The said bishop, after he had been with the said lord admiral, repairing again to the court, made report to Mr. Comptroler and Secretary Smith of the lord admiral's requests. The which were that he required Mr. Latimer to come to him; the day of execution to be deferred: certain of his servants to be with him; his daughter to be with my Lady Duchess of Suffolk to be brought up, and such like. Touching which requests, the said lords and the rest of the council declared their minds to Mr. Secretary Smith; willing him to write their answer in a letter to the Lieutenant of the Tower, who should shew in all those requests their resolute answer to the said lord admiral. The which was done accordingly.”

CHAP. XVI.

Of Queen Katharin Parr, and her daughter by the Lord Admiral.

That queen's books of devotions. Some relation of her. Priests allowed marriage. Private acts of parliament. Bills in behalf of the commons. The king sells chantries, guilds, &c.

HIS wife, Queen Katharin, saw not this heavy hour, dying in childbed of a daughter named Mary but a little before. This high-born infant lady, destitute already both of father and mother, remained a little while at her uncle the Duke of Somerset's house at Sion; and then, according to her father's dying request, was conveyed to Grimsthorp, in Lincolnshire, where the Duchess of Suffolk lived. There she had her governess, who was one Mrs. Aglionby, her nurse, two maids, and other servants, agreeable to her high quality, attending on her. The duke upon her going

The Lady
Mary born
of Queen
Katharin.

Committed
to the
keeping
of the
Duchess of
Suffolk.

1548. away promised a pension to be settled on her, for the maintenance of her and her servants, and that a certain parcel of plate of silver and household stuff, which belonged to her former nursery at the duke's, should be applied to her service, when she went to live with the duchess: and so Mr. Bartue, her servant, brought her word from the Duchess of Somerset. The said plate and stuff were, two pots, three goblets, one salt, parcel gilt, a maser with a band of silver and parcel gilt, and eleven spoons; a quilt for the cradle, three pillows, three feather beds, three quilts, a tester of scarlet, embroidered with a counterpoint of silksay belonging to the same, and curtains of crimson taffata, two counterpoints of imagery for the nurse's bed, six pair of sheets, six fair pieces of hangings within the inner chamber, four carpets for windows, ten pieces of hangings of the twelve months within the outer chamber, two cushions of cloth of gold, one chair of cloth of gold, two wrought stools, a bedstead gilt, with a tester and counterpoint, with curtains belonging to the same. But several months were past, and neither was this plate and furniture as yet sent, nor the promised pension settled, nor care taken for payment of the governess and servants, the whole burden and charge all this while lying upon the Duchess of Suffolk, without any satisfaction, which pressing her so hard, and she was none of the wealthiest, made her send, in the latter end of August, to the Duchess of Somerset, to urge the performance of what was promised, and to Mr. Cecyl, then a servant in the duke's family, and master of his requests, complaining heavily at the constant charge she was at in maintaining the said Lady Mary and all her retinue, without any consideration hitherto; "Praying him to help her at a pinch (as she expressed it) all that he might help; that both governess and all the servants called upon her for their wages; whose voices her ears," she said, "might hardly bear, but her coffers much worse."

This neglect no question was occasioned by the

cares of the weightier affairs of state incumbent on the duke; for I will not attribute it to his want of concern for his deceased brother's child, however undeserving he had been: but it was a hard case to put all this trouble upon the Duchess of Suffolk, who although she were an excellent woman, a great professor and patroness of true religion, (entertaining Latymer, at Grimesthorp, to preach to her family,) of high quality, the second wife and relict of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, by whom she had two sons, yet her incomes were much too scanty for her quality, as appears by the foresaid letter to Cecyl, dated Aug. 27, which she began in this ingenious manner:

1548.
The quality and condition of the said duchess.

"It is said, that the best mean of remedy to the sick, is first plainly to confess, and to disclose the disease; wherefore both for remedy, and again for that my disease is so strong that it will not be hidden, I will discover me unto you: first, I will, as it were under *Benedicite*, and in high secrecie, declare unto you, that all the world knoweth, though I go never so covertly in my net, what a very beggar I am. This sickness, as I have said, I promise you, increaseth mightily upon me; amongst other the causes thereof, if you will understand not the least, the queen's child hath layn and yet doth lye at my house with her company, wholly at my charges, &c. wherefore I cease, and commit me and my sickness to your diligent care, with my hearty commendations to your wife. At my manor of Grimesthorp, the xxvii of August.

The duchess to Cecyl.

Your assured loving friend,
K. SUFFOLK."

I conclude, care was soon after taken about this infant lady's family, and the duchess's charges, as there was to restore her in blood: which was done by act of parliament, 1549, under the name of Mary Seimour, daughter of Sir Thomas Seimour, late Lord Seimour of Sudley: when she was restored and en-

This Lady Mary restored in blood.

p. 130.

1548. abled in blood, as daughter and heir, and heiress to the said Thomas Lord Seimour, and might demand, ask, have, hold, and enjoy, all and every such honours, castles, manors, lordships, &c. which at any time hereafter should come, remain, descend, or revert from any collateral ancestor, &c. ; and to use and have any action or suit, and make her pedigree and conveyance in blood, as heir, as well to and from her said father, as also to any other person in like manner, form and degree, to all intents, constructions and purposes, as if the said Thomas Lord Seimour had never been attainted. I have no more to say of this child, but that she died not long after.

Queen
Kath. Parr,
her cha-
racter.

Ep. dedic.
bef. the
Eng. Para-
phrase of
Erasmus
upon St.
Luke.

But I have more to add of that illustrious woman and queen, her mother: she was a right noble lady, and had done abundance of good things, but yet cared not that they should be known, or spoken of: "Such was her modesty, that she sought nothing less than the fame of her good deeds to be blown abroad. She was of vertuous living from her tender years. She was endued with a pregnant wittiness, joyned with right wonderful grace of eloquence; studiously diligent in acquiring knowledge, as well of other humane disciplines, as also of the holy scriptures. Of incomparable chastity, which she kept not only from all spot, but from all suspicion, by avoiding all occasions of idleness, and contemning provocations of vain pastimes. Her modesty was coupled with great integrity and innocency in all her behaviour. She was mighty studious to promote the glory of God, and of the holy gospel. These qualities moved King Henry to judge her a meet spouse for his majesty, and to pick her out to be his lawful wife of so many women of nobility and honour, and high worth. When she was queen, she employed her self days and nights in psalms and comtemplative meditations, in lieu of vain courtly pastimes and gaming. And these she her self set forth in print, for the example of all noble women, and to the ghostly consolation and edifying of all that read them. By her godly

bestowing her time, it appeared she little set by the world; thirsted much after righteousness, carefully sought the kingdom of God, in the midst of a thousand occasions, which otherwise might have withdrawn her high esteem therefrom." As N. Udal writes in his epistle dedicatory to her, while she was King Henry's queen, before his translation of Erasmus's Paraphrase upon St. Luke. She caused, out of her zeal to the scripture, and her desire to bring in the knowledge of it among the common people, that divers, at her great cost and charges, should be employed in translating Erasmus's Paraphrase into English. This she did in King Henry the Eighth's time, and it seems it was in a manner finished in that king's days, and to which he was privy. For Udal writ, "He doubted not but that it was so acceptable to the king, that he would not suffer it to lay buried in silence, but would one day cause the said Paraphrase, thus englished, to be published and set abroad in print." The translation of the Paraphrase upon St. Luke was finished in 1545; for in that year the epistle dedicatory was writ. 1548.

Those devotions of this queen's before mentioned, (whereby appeared what little opinion she had of her princely state, in comparison with her enjoyment of God, and desire of spiritual things) consisted of psalms and prayers. The psalms were in number fifteen, of good length each, made in imitation of David's Psalms; being digested into versicles; whereof many were excerpitions out of the Book of Psalms, and other places of scripture. Each psalm had its proper subject. The first was, For obtaining Remission of Sins: beginning, "O Lord of Lords, God Almighty, great and dreadful; which by thy word hast made heaven, earth, the sea, and all things contained in them." p. 131. Her psalms, zz.

"Nothing is able to resist thy power: thy mercy is over all thy works.

"All things be under thy dominion and rule, both man and beast, and all living creatures.

1548.

“Thou art merciful to whom thou wilt, and hast compassion on whom it pleaseth Thee,” &c.

The second psalm also was for Remission of Sins; beginning, “O most mighty God of angels and men; whose judgments be unsearchable, and whose wisdom is profound and deep:

“Hear the prayers of thy servant, and cast not away the humble suit of thy poor creature and handy work,” &c.

The third psalm was for Remission of Sins also. The fourth, A Complaint of a penitent Sinner, which is sore troubled, and overcome with Sins. The fifth, For obtaining of godly Wisdom. The sixth, A Christian Man prayeth, that he may be healed of God. The seventh, For an Order and Direction of good living. The eighth, A Christian Man prayeth that he may be defended from his Enemies. The ninth, Against Enemies. The tenth, When the Enemies be so cruel, that he cannot suffer them. The eleventh, Of Confidence and Trust in God. The twelfth, If God defer to help long Time. The thirteenth, In which he giveth Thanks to God, that his Enemies have not gotten the over-hand of him. The fourteenth, In which the Goodness of God is praised. The fifteenth, Of the Benefits of God, with Thanks for the same. To which were subjoined the twenty-first Psalm, intituled, The Complaint of Christ on the Cross, and a Psalm of Thanksgiving.

And
prayers,

Then followed the book of prayers, intituled, “Prayers or Meditations, wherein the Mind is stirred patiently to suffer all Afflictions here; to set at nought the vain Prosperity of this World; and always to long for the everlasting Felicity. Collected out of holy works by the most vertuous and gracious Princess Katharine, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, An. Dom. 1545.” These prayers were all digested, as were the psalms abovesaid, into versicles, or sentences, and contained a great strain of true piety and devotion, sense of God, and dependance on him; and many of them excellently suited to the queen’s own

condition. A part of one of these her devout exercises, I remember to have read in the excellent Collections of Dr. Sampson, a London physician, deceased; shewing the devout spirit of this lady. 1548.

Then follow two prayers, for the king, and for men to say entering into battle; which latter, I make no doubt, the queen composed upon the king's expedition into France with a great army, when she was left regent at home. In the said prayer she had this truly pious petition, "Our cause being now just, and being enforced to enter into war and battle, we most humbly beseech thee, O Lord God of Hosts, so to turn the hearts of our enemies to the desire of peace, that no Christian blood be spilt; or else, grant, O Lord, that with small effusion of blood, and to the little hurt and damage of innocents, we may to thy glory obtain victory; and that the wars being soon ended, we may all with one heart and mind, knit together in concord and unity, laud and praise thee," &c. The next is a devout prayer to be daily said, together with one or two prayers more. p. 132.

There was also printed another piece of the devout studies of this good queen, intituled, "A goodly Exposition, after the Manner of a Contemplation, upon the Fifty-first Psalm," which Hierom of Ferrary, made at the latter end of his days. The which, I suppose, this godly woman translated into English, beginning, "Wretch that I am, comfortless and forsaken of all men, which have offended both heaven and earth," &c. Then follow in conclusion other proper things, very necessary to edify the congregation of Christ, as, Of Faith; The Power of Faith; The Work of Faith; Good Works; The Prayer of the Prophet Daniel. And her Exposition on Psalm LI.

I have met with a passage concerning this queen, in the margin of *Bale's Centuries*, in the possession of a late friend of mine, * noted against her name by an uncertain hand: which shewed the greatness of her mind, and the quickness of her wit, while she was but a child. Some body skilled in prognostication, She was foretold to be born to a crown. * Dr. Sampson, of London, now deceased.

1548. casting her nativity, told her, that she was born to sit in the highest seat of imperial majesty; having all the eminent stars and planets in her house; which she took such notice of, that when her mother used sometimes to call her to work, she would say, my hands are ordained to touch crowns and sceptres, not needles and spindles.

She had long loved the lord admiral.

The admiral's marrying of this queen was laid to his charge as a point of his high ambition, as was said before, though it seems by a letter of her own writing from Chelsea, soon after her marriage, that she rather courted him, than he her: professing, that she loved him, when she was the Lord Latimer's widow, and before King Henry made her his wife; and therefore being at first very listless towards that royal match.

She writes to King Henry in his expedition.

But to stay a little longer before we part with this excellent lady: the king, when he undertook, in the year 1544, an expedition in person to France, made her general regent in his absence. In his absence she wrote him a very well penned letter, declaring her great love and high honour towards him, and expressing her earnest desire to know of his welfare since his departing; and her mighty concern for his prosperity and health, which, she professed, she preferred before her own. "She knew, she said, that his majesty's absence was never without great respects of things; yet it was her love and affection compelled her to desire his presence: and again, the same zeal and love forced her to be best content with that which was his will and pleasure; and thus love made her in all things to set apart her own commodity and pleasure, to embrace most joyfully his will and pleasure, whom she loved." And so she proceeded through her letter with profound reverence towards him; as well knowing his lofty humour to require it, that she might keep herself in his favour, who had been so fickle towards his former queens.

p. 133. She intercedes with the king for the university.

In the year 1545, the university of Cambridge addressed their letters to her by Dr. Smith, (he that was afterwards Sir Thomas, the learned secretary of

state to King Edward,) upon a late act made, that 1548.
all colleges, chantries and free chapels, should be in
the king's disposition; which put the university in a
great fright; and they prayed her to intercede with
the king for their colleges; which she effectually per-
formed: insomuch that she writ to them in answer,
"That she had attempted the king for the stay of
their possessions; and that, notwithstanding his ma-
jesty's property and interest to them, by vertue of
that act of parliament, he was, she said, such a pa-
tron to good learning, that he would rather advance
and erect new occasion thereof, than confound those
their colleges; so that learning hereafter might ascribe
her very original, as well as conservation and stay,
unto him. And then, in the same letter, she exhorted
them not to hunger after profane learning, and forget
Christianity in the mean time; as though the Greek
university of Athens were transposed into England;
since their excellency did only attain to moral and
natural things. But she admonished them so to
study those doctrens, that they might serve as means
towards the attaining, and better setting forth of
Christ's most sacred doctren; that it might not be
laid against them at the tribunal seat of God, how
they were ashamed of Christ's doctren. That she
trusted, that in their several vocations they would
apply themselves to the sincere setting it forth; and
that they would conform their sundry gifts, arts and
studies, to such end, that Cambridge might be ac-
counted rather a university of divine philosophy, than
natural or moral."

Her good
advice to
the univer-
sity.

King Edward, in his invaluable Journal, preserved
in the Cotton Library, and lately published by the
Bishop of Sarum, noteth, that the protector was
much offended with this marriage of his brother to the
queen. But however displeased he was, the king his
nephew was pleased well enough: willing, perhaps,
that he that was so nearly related to him being a
king, should be advanced to the bed of a queen; and
therefore he both wooed for his uncle, recommending

The king
woos the
queen for
his uncle.

1548. him unto the queen, and after the marriage wrote her a congratulatory letter, which was in answer to one that she had sent unto him by the hands of the lord admiral, her new husband.

"To Queen Katharine Par, the King's Letter Congratulatory, upon her marriage with the Lord Admiral.

MSS. Penmen.

"WEE thank you hartely, not onlie for your gentle acceptation of our sute moved unto you, but also for your lovinge accomplishing of the same, wherein you have declared not onlie a desire to gratifie us, but also moved us to declare the good will likewise that wee bear to you in all your requests. Wherefore yee shall not nede to feare any grefe to come, or to suspect lake of ayde in nede; seeing that he, being mine uncle, is of so good a nature, that he will not be troublesome on the means unto you; and I of that minde, that of divers just causes I must favor you. But even as without cause you merrily require help against him, whom you have put in trust with the cariage of these letters; so maye I merrily retourne the same request unto you, to provide that he maye live with you also without grefe, which hath given him hoely unto you.

p. 134.

"And I will so provide for you both, that hereafter if any greafe befall, I shall be a sufficient socor in your godlie and praisable enterprises. Fare you well, with much encrease of honour and vertue in Christ. From Saincte James, the five and twenty day of June.

EDWARD."

Another of his letters to her. B. VII. p. 423.

There is another ingenious letter, written in Latin, by this king to this queen, when he was prince, (wherein he called her Mother,) upon occasion of a new-year's gift, sent by her to him at Hertford, which was the king's picture and her's: which letter is extant in Fuller's History.

After this digression concerning Queen Katharine, let us return again to the parliament, now sitting, which we heard had attained two eminent persons.

I will briefly touch at one thing more done this sessions, relating to the clergy; which was the making an act for the lawfulness of priests' marriage. But before the bill passed in the house, it was debated earnestly and sifted thoroughly in the convocation. And however the clergy was supposed to be prejudiced for the celibacy of priests, yet (as we learn from one, who seems to have been a member in that convocation, or at least well acquainted with the transactions of it) there was in the lower house, of deans, archdeacons, doctors, heads of colleges, to the number of seventy, that set their hands in allowance of the marriage of priests (as in the convocation the last year were fifty-three voices for it.) And most of the bishops in the upper house set their hands to the taking away the positive laws that prohibited such marriage; and hence it became enacted in parliament. There was a bill sent from the convocation the last year, that married men might be priests, and have benefices; which was read thrice in two days in the parliament, and agreed to, and sent up to the lords' house; where it lay undispatched, by reason that sessions ended within two or three days after it came before them.

1548.

An act for priests' marriage.

John Rogers in his intended speech to the lord chancellor.

This being the second session of the parliament, it began Novem. 24, and ended not before March 14 ensuing. Besides the public acts then made, there were these private ones:

The parliament's second session.

An Act concerning Gavelkind Lands in Kent. Acts for the Restitution of Sir George Darcy, Francis Carew, Edward Charleton, Sir Ralph Bulmer, Henry Weston, Ralph Bygot, Thomas Percy.

Private acts.

An Act for the uniting of Churches in the City of Lincoln; and another Act for the uniting of Churches in Stamford.

An Act for the erecting a School at St. Alban's.

An Act for the uniting the Churches of Ongar and Greensted, in Essex.

An Act for the founding of a School at Berkhamsted; and another for a School at Stamford.

1548.
Bills put
into this
parliament
for the
benefit of
the poor
commons.

p. 135.

There was one thing debated in this parliament, which may deserve to be here related. For the pacifying of the people, and making the condition of the poor easier against graziers and gentlemen, who enclosed commons and neglected tillage, John Hales (that had been lately in a commission to enquire into enclosures, and then saw and pitied the oppression of the poor country people) devised three bills to be put into parliament, unto which he first made many wise men privy. The one was for the re-edifying of houses decayed, and for the maintenance of tillage and husbandry; the other, for regrating of victuals and other things, wherein one principal point was, that neither graziers, nor none else, should buy any cattle, and sell the same again within a certain time. For, as the said Hales had learned, and knew of certainty, divers graziers and sheep-masters brought both cattle and money to the market, and if they could not sell their own as dear as they listed, they carried them home again, and bought all the rest. These two bills were first put to the lords. The first being read was not liked. The second they allowed and augmented, and sent down to the lower house; where it was so debated, and tossed up and down, and at last committed to such men, and there so much deferred, that men's affections might there have been notably discovered. And perhaps (said Hales, relating this matter in a writing of his) he that had seen all this would have said, that the lamb had been committed to the wolf's custody. The third bill was set forth first in the lower house, and tended to this end, that every man that kept in several pasture sheep or beasts, should keep, for every hundred sheep that he had above six score, two kine: and for every of these two kine, should rear one calf; and for every two kine that he kept beside, more than ten, he should rear one calf. By this means he thought and believed, that the nation should not only have plenty of beasts, whereof there was wonderful great decay, but also thereby the markets should be re-

plenished with milk, butter and cheese, the common and principal sustenance of the poor. The said Hales had such an opinion of this bill, that he durst have laid his life on it, that if it had proceeded, there would have been within five years after the execution thereof, such plenty of victuals, and so good and cheap, as never was in England; and besides, a great many good things ensue, very necessary and profitable for the commonwealth of the country; which neither by the execution of the late commission, nor yet by any positive law then in being, could be holpen. But, said Hales, Demetrius and his fellows soon spied whereunto this thing tended. There was then, *hold with me, and I will hold with thee*: some alleged the opinion of their fathers in time past (but these had been great sheep-masters) who when the like bill had been propounded, would never consent unto it, but said that when any scarcity of cattle was, a proclamation was made that no calves should be killed for a time. Some alleged, that men then eat more flesh than they did in time past; and that in Lent and other fasting days heretofore, the people eat neither butter, milk, nor cheese, and would have them do so again for policy's sake. And thus these rich inclosers got the better of this good bill intended for the benefit of the poor.

The king having the guilds or fraternities, chantries, colleges, hospitals, &c. given him the last year, hastened to sell them, to make up the defects of his treasury, and to get ready money for necessary uses. He began to sell the last year, and so continued this and the next year, which brought in vast sums. What chantries, free chapels, colleges, &c. were sold this second year of the king, and to whom, and for what sums, and lastly, of what value they were respectively, I could set down, having extracted them from an authentic MS. of the king's sales; but for avoiding prolixity I omit them.

1548.

1548.
Cromwell's
Book of
Privileges
Venice.

The king
sells chan-
tries.

222.

p. 136.

CHAP. XVII.

Books published this year. Archbishop Cranmer's Book of Unwritten Verities. His Notes of Traditions. Dr. Turner against the Mass. Crowlie's Book in Behalf of the poor Commons, &c.

1548.
Cranmer's
Book of
Unwritten
Verities.

FOR the conclusion of this year, I shall glance at some books of remark that issued abroad within the compass of the same. One was a small tract, intitled, *Unwritten Verities*. It was printed at London, in St. Andrew's parish, in the Wardrobe, by Thomas Reynold, *cum privilegio*. This book, I make no doubt, was that very book which Archbishop Cranmer had before penned and printed, if I mistake not, in Latin; which Dr. Richard Smith, of Oxford, in the beginning of this reign, attempted to confute, and was vindicated by the archbishop. This year, for more common use, it came forth in English. The drift of it was to prove and shew, the divine authority of the holy scriptures, and the difference between them and traditions, called *Unwritten Verities*; and to enervate these, by declaring the first rise and original of them. That as for the holy scriptures, "It was not lawful to deny any thing they affirmed, nor to affirm any thing which they denied. And that because they were received in the primitive times by assent of people and clergy; when the people were newly converted to the faith, and were full of grace and devotion, and when there were blessed bishops, and blessed priests, and others blessed of the clergy. And the time of the authorizing of the New Testament, and gathering it together, was the time, he supposed, of the most high and gracious shedding out of the mercy of God into the world, that ever was from the beginning of the world to this day. That after this, by a common speaking among the people, the bishops and others of the clergy were

called, *The Church*, and under colour of the name *Church*, in process of time, pretended that they might make expositions of scripture, as the universal church of Christ. And thereupon, when covetousness and pride encreased among the clergy, they expounded, very favourably, divers texts of scripture, to sound to the maintenance of their honour, power, and riches; and took upon them to affirm, that they were the church, and might not err: and that Christ and his apostles had spoken and taught many things that were not expresly in scripture; but nevertheless, that the people were as much bound to believe them, as the scripture. Then he proceeded to specify many of these traditions, which the clergy called *Unwritten Verities*, pretending they were left to the world by tradition and revelation of the apostles. Then he briefly confuted the arguments commonly used in behalf of their authority; and reckoned it concerned princes to look upon these *Unwritten Verities*, and upon the clergies' making laws, and upon their intruding things upon the people to be believed upon pain of damnation." This short but excellent treatise, which is by this time almost wholly lost and extinct, I have thought fit to take this notice of. The whole tract may be found in the Repository.

1548.

p. 137.

B. II.
A A.

Having met with a volume of Archbishop Cranmer's Common Places, I will here transcribe thence what he wrote and collected of these *Traditions*: especially because what is there written is different from the foresaid book, and contains other things.

Cranmer's
Collections
of Tradi-
tions.

"*Traditions not written, recited by Tertullian*: That children should be christned but two times in the year, at Easter and Whitsontide. That the bishops should christen them. They that should be christned should be three times put in the water, the whole body. That by and by after, they should eat milk and honey mixed together. That the whole week after, they should not be washed. To offer yearly, the day of men's death, and of their birth. Upon the Sunday, neither to fast, nor to kneel in

MSS. D.
Henrici D.
Ep. Lon-
din.

.861.7

1548. prayer; and likewise from Easter to Whitsontide.—
To make a cross upon our foreheads.

“*Traditions recited by Basilus*: Making a cross upon them that be christned. To turn our faces to the east when we pray. Consecrating of oyl and water in baptism. Unction with oyl. To put them that be baptized three times in the water. To renounce the devil and his angels in baptism.

“Other authors rehearse a great number of *Traditions*: The fast of Lent. To fast Wednesday and Friday. Not to fast Saturday nor Sunday. That a bishop should be consecrated of two or three bishops, and priests of one. A bishop, priest, and deacon, shall not meddle with the business and care of worldly things; and if he do, let him be deposed. If a bishop give orders in another bishop's diocese without his licence, he shall be deposed, and also he that taketh orders of him. Giving of *pax* after mass. Consecrating of *religious* men. And a thousand more *Traditions* Apostolic there be, if we give credence to St. Denys *De Ecclesiast. Hierarch.*, Ignatius, the *Canons* of the *Apostles*, *Ecclesiastica et Tripartita Historia*, Cyprian, Tertullian, Irenæus, with other old antient authors. And yet an infinite number more we shall be constrained to receive, if we admit this rule, which St. Augustine many times repeats, that whatsoever is universally observed, and not written in the scripture, nor ordained by general councils, is a *Tradition* coming from the apostles: as, that bishops have authority to excommunicate all persons that be manifest and obstinate sinners; to admit or reject other bishops and curates presented by princes or patrons; to ordain ceremonies to be observed in the church; to make laws, how to proceed in excommunication, and other laws ecclesiastical; and what punishment is to be given to offenders: and all people being within their jurisdiction, of what state or condition soever they be, be bound to obey them.

p. 138. “*Reasons. Idem.* If *Traditions* Apostolic have the force of God's word, so that every one is bound

to the observation of them, the Bishop of Rome hath a great advantage thereby to establish his *primacy*; not such a *primacy* as he hath lately usurped, but such a *primacy* as he hath had by prerogative from the beginning; that is to say, to be one of the four patriarchs of Christendom, and the chief of all four. And the Traditions be the chief authors, wherupon Pighius stayeth himself. And furthermore, if we admit Traditions to be of such authority, it is to be feared that we must resort to the Church of Rome to fetch there our Traditions, as of the oldest and the mother church. Irenæus, *Ad hanc*, &c.; Cyprian calls Rome, *Petri Cathedram et Ecclesiam principalem*. Julius writing for Athanasius, &c. Melchiades, and other quotations he there mentioneth.

1548.

"The Old Testament was sufficient for the Jews: and is not both the Old and the New sufficient for us?"

"What things came by Traditions from the apostles, no man can tell certainly; and if we be bound to receive them as articles of our faith, then is our faith uncertain; for we be bound to believe we know not what.

"Faith must needs be grounded upon God's word. For St. Paul saith, *Fides ex auditu: auditus autem per verbum Dei*. *Omnis scriptura divinitus inspirata*. This text St. John Chrysost. Theophylact, Thomas, with many other authors, both old and new, do expound plainly as the words be, That whatsoever truth is necessary to be taught for our salvation, or the contrary to be reprov'd; whatsoever is necessary for us to do, and what to forbear and not to do; all is completely contained in the scripture: so that a man thereby may be perfectly instructed unto all manner of goodness." This was Archbishop Cranmer's judgment.

As the last year appeared abroad a *Declaration* of the Mass, so about this time, still for the further humiliation of that popish service, came forth an *Examination* of the Mass, made by Dr. William Turner, a physician, about this time living in the

A book of
Dr. Turner
agt. the
Mass.

1348. Duke of Somerset's family, afterwards Dean of Wells, a witty as well as learned man. This book was intituled, "A new Dialogue, wherein is conteyned the Examination of the Messe, and of that Kind of Priesthood which is ordeyned to say Messe, and to offer up for Remission of Sin the Body and Blood of Christ agayne." The names of the speakers in this dialogue are, Mistress Missa, Master Knowledge, Master Fremouth, Master Justice of Peace, Peter Preco the cryer, Palemon the judge, Dr. Porphyry, Sir Philip Philargyry: of which two last the former represented a doctor of the canon law, and the latter a doctor of divinity and priest; Missa's great friends and patrons. Mr. Knowledge describes her abuses, Fremouth accuses her: Mr. Justice of Peace is hasty to execute the law upon Fremouth, for speaking against her. Afterwards all apply to Palemon, a wise judge, for his decision; and he having at good length fully heard all parties, in the end finds Mistress Missa guilty, and pronounceth his judgment against her in these words: "These men, thy accusers, have brought forth sufficient evidence and witness, that thou art not of God; that thou art contrary, and an enemy unto the holy scriptures, and an idolatress, making a God of consecrated bread and wine; and that, to the great injury of Christ's passion, thou offerest up Christ again, and as much as lyeth in thee, kyllest hym a thousand tymes in one year. Wherefore thou hast deserved death, and art worthy to be burned: but least thy father's generation, the papists, should say, that we are as desyrous of bloud-sheddyng as they were when they bare the swynge, I commaund thee, in the payne of burnyng, to pack thee out of this realm withal thy bag and baggage, within these eight days, and go to thy father the pope withal the speed that thou canst, and say, that here is in England no more place for hym, neyther for any of hys generation." And so the book concludes with these words of the *Mass*, wherein she laments her case to her friends the priests, and prays them to look out
- p. 139.
- A book of
Dr. Porphyry
not the
Mass*

some place in the Bible for her, which was so extremely difficult to find:

1548.

“ Help and defend, my good brethren all,
Which love doctrine cathedral,
And do believe unwritten veritie,
To be as good as scripture's sincerite.
Because in the Bible I cannot be found,
The hereticks would bury me under the ground.
I pray you hartily, yf it be possible,
To get me a place in the great Bible.
Or else, as I do understand,
I shall be banished out of this land;
And shall be compelled, with sorrow and payne,
To return to Rome, to my father again.”

Robert Crowley, a stationer, in Ely Rents, but a man of letters, and bred up in Oxford, an earnest professor of religion, and who, a year or two after this, received orders from Bishop Ridley, wrote a book now, complaining of the abuses put upon the poor people, both by the clergy and laity, recommending their cause to the parliament now sitting: it was intituled, “ An Information and Petition against the Oppressors of the poor Commons of this Realm. Compiled and imprinted for this only Purpose, that among them that have to do in the Parliament, some godly minded Men may hereat take Occasion to speak more in the Matter than the Author was able to write. Imprinted at London, by John Day.” Because this book will shew much of the state of this nation at present, and how the people stood affected, and what most aggrieved them, and the covetousness and oppressions of the wealthier sort, I shall in some larger manner represent the contents of it. It began, “ To the most Honourable Lords of the Parliament, with the Commons of the same, their most humble and daily orator, Robert Crowly, wisheth the assistance of God's Holy Spirit.

A book recommended to the parliament, in behalf of the poor commons.

“ Among the manifold and most weighty matters, most worthy Counsellors, to be debated and commended of in this present parliament, and by the advice, assent, and consent thereof, speedily to be re-

answ.

1548. dressed, I think there is no one thing more needful to be spoken of, than the grievous oppression of the poor by the possessioners, as well of the clergy as of the laity.

p. 140.
Abuses to
be rectified
in the
clergy.

“No doubt it is needful, and there ought to be a redress of many matters of religion. As are these: The use of the sacraments and ceremonies; the usurping of tenths to private commodity; the superfluous, unlearned and undiscree, and vitious ministers of the church, and their superstitious and idolatrous administration. Of these things, I say, ought there to be a speedy reformation; for they are now, most like, hastily to bring upon this noble realm the inevitable vengeance of God, if they be not shortly reformed: forasmuch as it hath pleased the Almighty and Living God to open unto us those abominations, which have hertofore been kept secret and hidden from us. These things, I say, are yet far out of joynt, and have great need to be reformed; for, notwithstanding the king's majesty's late visitation, the ignorant people, who have long been fostered and brought up in the superstition and wrong belief of these things, and are yet, no doubt, secretly instructed by their blind guides, and by them holden still in blindness, will not be persuaded that their forefathers' superstition was not the true faith of Christ, till such as they have continuing among them, such preachers as shall be able, and will by the manifest scripture prove unto them, that both they and their fathers were deceived, and knew not how to worship God aright; but, shamefully seduced by the covetise of the shepherds and guides, sought him where he is not; and when they thought they had been most high in his favour, by doing him so much honour as they thought most acceptable in his sight, then committed they most detestable blasphemy, and were abominable before him,” &c. He spake next of the abuse of *Orders*: “That they who received them were not shepherds, but butchers; and came not to feed, but to be fed. That it was not possible to amend this

Orders.

great enormity otherwise, than by reducing the order of chusing of ministers unto the order that was in the primitive church, whereof is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles.—Idle bellies may come to the bishop, and be sineared for money.—They applied themselves to priesting, because they liked well the idleness of the life.” He recommended to the parliament the consideration of this matter at the full, which he doubted not the king’s majesty’s visitors knew more of than he could be able to write.

1548.

Acts i. ad
to mission
—prose
—prose

Then he proceeded to speak of the *Sacraments*: “How they were still abused; using them as matters of merchandize, and chiefly, the most worthy memory of our redemption; for that they sell both to the quick and the dead, to the rich and to the poor. None shall receive at their hands without he will pay the ordinary shot; and so are they ready to serve every man. They looked upon the mony only, and nothing upon the mind: whether it were taken to comfort of conscience, or judgment, they passed not; they told the mony, they looked for no more. If they would deny this to be true, let them say, why they suffered the poor to beg to pay for their housel, as they called it. Perchance they would say, that the mony was not paid for the sacrament, but for the four offering days. Then ask I (said he) this question: Why they appointed not another tyme to receive it in, than that which was too little to be occupied in declaring to the people the right use and profit of the sacraments, and to instruct them so, that they did not receive it to their judgment, but to their comfort and quietness of conscience, for which purpose it was first instituted? Undoubtedly they could not deny, but that they appointed to receive it then, because they would be sure of it. Their doing would declare it, though they should deny it; for none might receive the sacrament, unless he did first pay the mony; and then, with how little reverence it was ministred and received, every Christen there saw and lamented.—Wherefore he was certain, he said, they

The Sacra-
ments.

p. 141.

1548. had occasion, and could do no less but seek a further redress hereof in this present parliament.

The oppression of possessioners.

“And as for the *Oppression* of the Poor, which was no less needful to be commoned of and reformed, than the other, he feared it would be past over with silence; or, if it were commoned of, he could scarcely trust, that any reformation could be had, unless God did now work in the hearts of the *possessioners* of this realm, as he did in the primitive church, when the *possessioners* were contented, and very willing to sell their possessions, and give the price thereof to be common to all the faithful believers. He would not have any to take him, as though he went about by these words to persuade men to make all things common: but he would wish, that the *possessioners* would consider who gave them their possessions, and how they ought to bestow them; and then, he doubted not, it should not need to have all things made common.

“He protested unto them all, that the same Spirit that sent Jonas to the Ninevites, Daniel to the Babylonians, Nathan to King David, Achior unto Holofernes, Judith unto the priests and elders of the Jews, the Prophet to Jeroboam in Bethel, John the Baptist unto Herod, and Christ unto the Jews, witnessed with his conscience that he renne not unspent: for even the same Spirit that said unto Esay, *Cry and cease not, and declare unto my people their wickedness*, cried also in his conscience, bidding him not to spare to tell the *possessioners* of this realm, that unless they repented the oppressions wherewith they vexed the poor commons, and shewed themselves through love to be brothers of one father, and members of one body with them, and would repent the violence don to the poor and needy members of Christ, and become as hands ministring unto every member his necessities, they should, at the day of their account, be bound hand and foot, and cast into utter darkness, where should be weeping, &c.

Leasemongers.

“He cried out also against *Leasemongers*, as he

called them, that took grounds by lease, to the intent 1548.
to let them out again for double and treble the rent;
and against surveyors of lands, that of ten pounds
land could make twenty. That they should not be
forgotten in the effusion of God's plague: for that,
when they had multiplied their rents to the highest,
so that they had made all their tenants their slaves,
to labour and toil, and bring to them all that might
be plowed and digged out of their grounds, then
should death suddenly strike them; then should God
withdraw his comfortable grace from them; then
should their consciences prick them, &c. Oh! noble
Counsellors, as he added, be merciful to yourselves;
destroy not your own souls, to enrich your heirs; en-
large not your earthly possessions with the loss of the
eternal inheritance: learn to know the estate that
God hath called you unto, and to live according to
your profession; know, that ye are all members in the p. 142.
commonweal, and that the portion which you are
born unto, or that your prince gives you, is your
estate; know, that your office is to distribute, and not
scrape together on heaps. God hath not set you to
survey his lands, but to play the stewards in his
houshold of this world, and to see that your poor fel-
low-servants lack not their necessities. Consider,
that you are but ministers and servants unto the Lord
our God, and that you shall render a strait account
of your administration. Stand not too much in your
own conceit, glorying in the worthiness of your blood:
for we are all one man's children, and have by nature
like right to the riches and treasures of this world,
wherof our natural father Adam was made lord and
king.—That you are lords and governours, therefore,
cometh not by nature, but by the ordinance and ap-
pointment of God. Know then, that he had not
called you to the wealth and glory of this world, but
hath charged you with the great and rude multitude;
and if any of them perish through your default, know
then for certainty, that the blood of them shall be
required at your hands. If the impotent creatures

1548. perish for lack of necessities, you are the murderers; for you have their inheritance, and do not minister unto them, &c.

The sad
effects of
oppression.

“Do not therefore (as he went on) neglect this principal part of your duty, to seek in this parliament a redress of this great oppression, wherewith the poor members of this noble realm are most unmercifully vexed on every side. The landlords, for their parts, survey and take the utmost penny of all their grounds, beside the unreasonable fines and incomes; and he that will not, or cannot, give all that they demand, shall not enter, be he never so honest, or stand he in never so great need: yea, though he hath been an honest, true, faithful and quiet tenant many years; yet at the vacation of his copy or indenture, he must pay welmost as much as would purchase so much ground, or else void in hast, though he, his wife and children, should perish for lack of harbour. What a sea of mischief hath flowed hence! Honest householders have been made followers of others, and so honest men's tables and honest matrons have been brought to the needy rock and cards: men's children, of good hopes in the liberal sciences and other honest qualities (whereof this realm hath great lack) compelled to fall to some handy-crafts; as, some to day labour, to sustain their parents' decrepit age and miserable poverty. Froward and stubborn children have hereby shaken off the yoke of godly chastisement, running headlong into all kinds of wickedness, and finally garnished gallow trees. Modest, chaste, and womanly virgins, for lack of dowry, have been compelled to pass over the days of their youth under great service, or else to marry to perpetual, miserable poverty. Immodest and wanton girls have hereby been made sisters of the Bank (*i. e.* the *Bank-side*, where the stews were), the stumbling-stocks of all frail youth, and finally most miserable creatures, lying and dying in the streets, full of all plagues and penury, &c.

“On the other side, there be certain tenants, not

able to be landlords, and yet after a sort they counterfeit landlords by obtaining leases, and upon grounds and tenements, and to raise fines, incomes, and rents, and by such pillage pike out a portion to maintain a proud port, and by pilling and polling the poor commons, that must of necessity seek habitations at their hands, &c. For the truth of this he reported him to the lord maior, and other head officers of London, who could witness with him, that the most part, yea, he thought nine of the ten parts of the houses in London, were set and let by them that had them by lease, and not by the owners. How they polled the poor tenants would be tried, if their leases were conferred with their rent rolls."

1548.
Raising
fines upon
leases
another
oppression.
p. 143.

Usual in
London.

He went afterward to the great *Extortion* and *Usury* that reigned in the realm, and seemed to be authorized by parliament within these three years last past. "The clergy of the city of London had for their parts obtained by parliament authority to over-tenths, ever after the example of the landlords and leasemongers, and might by virtue of the act require for double rents, double tenths. If the rent of any kind of housing or ground within the city of London were raised, as there was indeed very much from ten shillings to twenty shillings, then might the parson, who had before but 16*d ob.* by vertue of this act demaund 2*s. 9d.* the double. Besides this, the exactions they took of the poor commons were so much beyond all reason and conscience. No couple could be married, but these men must have a duty, as they called it. No woman might be purified, but they and their idle ministers must have some duties of her. None could be buried, but they would have a fleece." An instance of which he brings in, that it was not three months before the beginning of the present parliament, he had just occasion to be at the payment of this duty, for the burying of an honest poor man, whose friends were willing to have his body reverently laid in the ground, and, according to the custom, he gave warning to the curate, that they

Extortion.

The clergy
had over-
tenths.

1548. should bring the dead body to the church, desiring him that he would do his duty, and to be there to receive it, and, according to the custom, to lay it in the ground. "But this raven, said he, smelling the carrion, could not but reveal it to the other carrion birds of the same church, and so would needs come altogether in a flock to fetch their prey, with cross and holy water as they were wont to do, notwithstanding the king's Injunctions, and late visitation. The friends of the dead refused all this, and required to have no more but the common coffin to put the body in; agreeing to pay to the keeper thereof his accustomed duty, and in like manner to the grave-maker, and the four poor men to carry the body. So that the whole charges had been but seven-pence. But when the corps was buried without either cross or holy water; styck, *Dirige* or mass, with prayers of as small devotion as any poor curate could say, yet must we needs pay seven pence more; that is to say, one peny to the curate, which he called an *head-peny*, and six pence to three clarks that we had no need of. This was done in Sepulchre's parish in the city of London. This he wrote, as he said, addressing to the worthy counsellors of parliament, to give them an occasion to set such an order in this and such other things, that either they might have ministers found upon the tenths that they paid yearly to the churches; or else that it might be lawful for them to do such ministries themselves; and not to be thus constrained to feed a sort of carrion-crows, which were never so merry, as when other lamented the loss of their friends."

p. 144. This for the extortion of the clergy. Then he passed "to the intolerable *Usury*, which at that day reigned freely in the realm over all; and especially in London. That it was taken for most lawful gain; yea, that it was almost heresy to reprove it. For men said, it was allowed by parliament. Well, said he, the most part, I am sure, of this most godly assembly and parliament do know, that the occasion

Usury.

of the act that past here concerning usury, was the insatiable desires of the usurers; who could not be contented with usury, unless it were unreasonable much. To restrain this greedy desire of theirs therefore, it was commoned and agreed upon, and by the authority of parliament decreed, that none should take above 10% by year for the loan of a 100%. Alas! that ever any Christian assembly should be so void of God's holy Spirit, that they should allow for lawful, any thing that God's word forbiddeth. Be not abashed, most worthy counsellors, to call this act into question again. Scan the words of the Psalmist concerning this matter, 'Who shall enter into thy tabernacle, &c. He that hath not given his money unto usury.'—How can you suffer this act to stand, which shall be a witness against you in the latter day, that you allow that which God's Spirit forbiddeth? Luke vi. 'Do ye lend, looking for no gain thereof, and your reward shall be plenteous,' &c.

“And so wishing them, in the conclusion, the same spirit that in the primitive church gave unto the multitude of believers one heart, and one mind, to esteem nothing of this world their own; ministering unto every one according to his necessities.—And this reformation had, no doubt the majesty of God should so appear in all their decrees, that none so wicked a creature should be found so bold, as once to open his mouth against the order they should take in all matters of religion.—But if they let these things pass and regarded them not, he bad them be sure the Lord should confound their wisdom: invent, decree, establish and authorize what they could, all should come to nought. The ways that they should invent to establish unity and concord, should be the occasions of discord: the things whereby they should think to win praise through all the world, should turn to their utter shame, and the ways they should invent to establish a kingdom, should be the utter subversion of the same.”

Another small treatise came forth, and writ (as it

1548.
Another
discourse
of the
Praise of
such as
sought
Common-
wealths,
comes
forth.

seems to me) for the use of the same parliament, and for the same intent with the former; it was intituled, "The Praise and Commendation of such as sought Commonwealth, and to the contrary, the End and Discommendation of such as sought private Wealths, gathered both out of the Scriptures and Philosophers." It was printed by Anth. Scoloker, dwelling in the Savoy Rents. This discourse is chiefly levelled against the covetousness and self-seeking of the age, which then so much prevailed. In the fore-front of this discourse is set a moral saying of Epicurus, "If a man having goods in abundance, do not repute it sufficient, he is but a wretch and a catif, although he were Lord over the whole world." Then followed this sentence, "Four things follow covetousness. I. Unsatiableness, being never contented. II. Scarceness of all things among the commons. III. Deceit among the people. And IV. The Desire of Worldly Honour." The book begins thus:

"Aristotle, in the first book of Politics, the tenth chapter, saith, how that divers men esteem riches to be nothing but only a heap or quantity of gold and silver. And it is great folly either to think or say the same. For the philosopher saith, that and if the course of gold and silver were restrained, that then it should no more be profitable to commonwealths, neither yet to those things that are needful to man's life. For many times it may chance to him, which hath abundance of gold and silver, to perish for lack of food." And after some lines, "We see in these days, men so given to unsatiable covetousness in procuring their own private wealths, that the commonwealth decayeth, and no man looketh to it. We are commanded to love God above all, and our neighbour as ourselves. But how do we love our neighbours as ourselves, when we put them out of their houses, and lay their goods in the streets?" And then soon after, reproving the professors of the gospel for this fault, adds, "Who in these days are such oppressors, such graziers (turning arable land

into pasture) such shepherds (keeping sheep instead of plowing for the setting poor men on work) such enhauncers of rents, such takers of incomes, as are those which profess the gospel? What is this but to speak evil of that good name of Christ, after whom we are named Christians?—Would to God that in these days men would be as careful for their poor brethren, as they are for their dogs. We see the city of London can of the chamberlain's cost provide an house, to keep twenty or thirty dogs, and to give ten pounds a year for one to keep them. But they will not allow ten-pence by year out of the chamber towards the finding of the poor. But the poor artificers must bear part and part alike to the most extremity that can be invented, as lately appeared by the common council. By hearsay, there is a good sum yearly coming into the chamber of London; and no man knoweth how it is spent, but the gray cloaks (servants to the court of aldermen, and such like.): Yet can there not be a poor spring fet two flight shot out of the city (to supply the city with water) but the poor commons must bear part thereof. I trust within twenty years, men will make suit to be maiors of the city," &c. (glancing at the benefits and advantages the maiors in those times lookt at to make of that office.)

1548.

London
negligent
of the poor.

"We have now no Samuels, which will ask the commons, saying, 'Have I taken any man's ox or ass? if I have done any man violence or wrong; if I have opprest any man; if I have received a gift of any man's hand, and kept it secret, I will restore it you again. And the people said, no.' We have none of these. Neither Daniel's nor Elizeus's, to deny gifts. But we have plenty of Gehazies in all places to receive; God defend them from their leprosies.—I dare not write for offending, but this dare I write, that if divers officers within this realm should shew their accounts from year to year, how they have gotten their goods, as merchants may do, it should

Bribery
too com-
mon.

1548. be found that there were no mervail, though the
p. 146. king's majesty lacked money, and the poor commons
complain." Hereby may plainly be seen the great
vice of this age, an immeasurable affectation of
wealth in the superior sort of men, which led them
to divers ill practices, to the impoverishing of the
commons, and, I may add, of the king too.

Crowley's
confuta-
tion of
Shaxton's
articles.

I will mention yet another book that came abroad
this year; and this was in the behalf of religion, set
forth by Crowley aforesaid. It was a confutation of
the thirteen articles, whereunto Nic. Shaxton, late
Bishop of Salisbury, subscribed, and caused to be
set forth in print in the year 1546, when he recanted
in Smithfield, at the burning of Mrs. Anne Ascue.
Printed by Day and Seres. In this book were con-
tained these several pieces. I. Certain Matters sent
by Mr. Shaxton to his wife: they were counsels to
her for chastity, now he was to be divorced from
her. II. A Letter sent him by the inhabitants of
Hadley, where he had been minister: whence he had
been sent for up. At what time he told his people
upon his parting, his resolution to persist in the ac-
knowledgment of the truth, whatever became of him.
His parishioners in this letter severely charge him for
his inconstancy. III. His submission to King Henry,
when he recanted. IV. His opinion in the sacra-
ment before his recantation, which was right and
orthodox. Writ by himself to the popish bishops.
V. His thirteen articles, containing the sum of the
popish doctrine, by him confessed, subscribed and
put in print; together with the confutation of them
by Crowley: which makes the bulk of the book.
And before all these is the said Crowley's Epistle to
Shaxton.

Bale de
Viris Illus-
tribus.

— The first edition of John Bale's most elaborate and
highly valuable book of the writers of Britain came
forth this year in quarto. Printed at Ipswich by
John Overton, *pridie Cal. Augusti*. The author
dedicated his book to King Edward, who, in the

title page, is represented sitting on his throne, and Bale upon his knees offering him his book, his tutor, Cheke, standing by at a curtain. 1548.

To this I add another book, in quarto, of a foreigner. Dedicated this year also to the king, in a long epistle dated from Hamburg. The author was Johannes Æpinus. The subjects of his book were, "De Purgatorio, Satisfactionibus, Remissione Culparum et Pœnæ," &c. This Æpinus was chief minister of the church of Hamburg, and was sent twelve years before as envoy from Hamburg into England to King Henry upon matters of religion.

Æpinus
de Purga-
torio, &c.

And lastly, "Gratulatio Bucerii ad Ecclesiam Anglicanam de Religionis Christi Restitutione. Et Ejusdem Responsio ad duas Stephani Vintoniensis episcopi Epistolas," 4to. Which answer of Bucer to Winchester was also this year put into English. And Bradford mentioneth it in a letter to Traves, 1548.

Bucerii
Gratulatio.

The Lady Elizabeth's translation of a Meditation of the Soul concerning Love towards God and his Christ, must not here be forgotten: compiled in French by the late Margaret, Queen of Navar. Printed in 8vo. and afterwards reprinted by H. Denham.

Lady Elizabeth's
book.

Richard Bonner, priest, a man of the same name with that bloody bishop, but of better principles, set forth a treatise this year of the right worshipping of Christ in the sacrament of bread and wine, when it is ministred with thanksgiving in the holy supper. Printed for Gualter Lyn, 8vo.

Bonner's
book.

p. 147.

CHAP. XVIII.

Proclamations for regulation of sundry abuses in the realm: as, about gold and silver coins: the king's bands of soldiers not filled: news, disparaging the king's affairs. The teston: inclosures, &c. The lord protector loses himself with the nobility. The Lady Mary required to use the Common Prayer, established by law. Dr. Hopton her chaplain.

1548.
Orders
about the
gold coin;

THE king's gold was now much conveyed out of the kingdom, occasioned, as it may be, by the wars in Bulloyn; and especially the old coins of rials, (as they were called,) angels, half angels, crowns of the rose, and others of that or like standard; and also sovereigns, half sovereigns, and other of the king's new coin of gold. The king's gold was carried away in such quantities that it was sensibly felt, to the great disfurnishing of the realm; which obliged the king to send forth a proclamation bearing date April 3, forbidding that any man should convey it away, whole or broken, upon pain of imprisonment, and other pains and forfeitures, as were by the law appointed. By virtue of this proclamation other abuses, concerning the king's gold and other coins, were provided against. As, a charge was given that none should buy or sell the abovesaid gold for other price, than according as they were valued and appointed by the proclamation, viz.

The angel of gold at	-	-	0	9	8
The half angel at	-	-	0	4	10
The old rial at	-	-	0	13	6
The new sovereign at	-	-	1	0	0
The half sovereign at	-	-	0	10	0
The crown at	-	-	0	5	0

And if any should buy or sell the said pieces at above that price, he should forfeit the said coins so bought and sold, and besides ten times the value thereof, and suffer imprisonment.

And a practice of goldsmiths and merchants was also by this proclamation forbid: which was to buy and sell the king's coin at higher prices than it was by the king's proclamation rated and valued at; and so to cull and try out the finest and heaviest, and melt them down, or otherwise make gain upon them; leaving the lightest and less fine only to be current, to the impairing the king's money, defrauding the subjects, and disfurnishing and slandering the mints. For the prevention of this, it was the king's will and pleasure, that the old law, statutes and customs of the realm, in this case, should be put in ure and execution.

1548.
And other
coin.

This proclamation also took notice, how persons beyond sea had of late attempted to counterfeit testons, shillings, groats, and other the king's coin of silver, and in great multitudes brought them into the realm: such counterfeitors were to forfeit their lives and lands, goods and chattels.

p. 148.

A gross deceit was now discovered among the king's military officers and soldiers, which he kept in constant pay, the numbers of the bands not being filled, though the king's full pay was allowed: and this abuse was especially in the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland, and other places of the borders. The captains of the light-horsemen were chiefly guilty of this fraud; who had not so much before their eyes, their duty towards their sovereign lord and country, nor yet their own surety, as a vile mind and filthy respect of their own gain: for they not only polled their soldiers without shame or dread, but diminished their numbers appointed to serve under them; saving, that for a colour at the muster-day, they procured some to supply the void places: and by pattishment with unmeet and unserviceable men for less wages than the king allowed, they did in such sort disguise their numbers, as in a manner the third part of their numbers, which the king appointed and paid for, was not ready, able or sufficiently furnished to do that service that was looked

Abuses in
the king's
army;

By the
captains;

1548. for; to the deceit of his majesty, and the no less danger of the king's true subjects and soldiers, as upon the confidence of the aid of such light-horsemen, to join with them at any encounter with the enemy, should find themselves deceived and abandoned. And, as the captains did thus, so the soldiers, taking example and boldness from them, provided not themselves of horse or harness meet to serve withal; and when they were commanded to set forth towards any place of service, repaired not thither together, but sometimes more than the half part remained behind: and if they went, stuck not to return home by small companies, without leave, with several preys and booties, more by them sought than doing service; and which was worse, at any approach or affronture of the enemy, without order or respect of abiding by the standard, they used commonly upon every little moment, or causeless, to begin the flight, betraying their fellows, who through such their flying lost oftentimes that assured advantage of victory, which with their tarrying they might have been partakers of; and if so be they tarried, they did it not so much for discharge of their profession of service, as only for desire of spoil and pillage: and this pillage they sought not so much upon their enemies, as rather upon the king's own subjects or friends, namely, the assured Scotchmen; whose goods and cattle divers of those light-horsemen of Northumberland, and others of the borders, had lately spoiled and robbed; as by sundry complaints of such *assured men* was well known. This gross want of good discipline was in the king's militia.

By the
soldiers.

1549.
Redress
thereof by
proclama-
tion.

For the remedying of which the king, April 6, issued out a strict proclamation. The captains were commanded henceforth not to fail to have in readiness their whole and intire number, without diminishment in any part, and without defalcation of any part of the wages so allowed to every light-horse; and that they failed not to have their bands complete always, as in an hour's warning to be given them by

the commissaries: and that none of the captains, or any light-horsemen of the bands, at any road or other invasion of the enemy's grounds, or defence of the borders, should dare to depart from the standard, or otherwise forsake, or scatter from the rest of the army or company; nor to forsake or depart from any fortress, to the guard whereof they should be appointed, unless they should have express commandment. And finally, to forbear henceforth to commit any spoils or pillages upon any of the *assured* Scotchmen, their goods, lands or cattle; which had been received into his majesty's protection: and likewise, that they forbore from the embezzling or pilfering of horses, geldings, harness, weapons, or any other thing, pertaining to any other soldier serving his majesty in the wars; whereby the service of the party robbed might be hindered: and that no captain, or soldier, sell, give, or exchange, or by any fraud find means to set out on purpose, any horses to be taken and come into the possession of any Scotchman, or other stranger, being his majesty's enemy: and if any soldier, placed in garrison with any of his majesty's pieces, shall, before discharge of the captain, leave his watch or ward to the danger of the loss of the piece, his majesty doth and will order, that the offender shall incur the danger and pain of death.

About this very time did many disaffected persons raise malicious reports of great overthrows and losses, to the disparagement of the king, his fortresses, captains and soldiers, in the north parts, and beyond the seas; and of dangers relating to his majesty's other affairs: whereby they gave occasion to strangers to write into distant countries such tales for news, to the great dishonour of the king; being most false and untrue. This caused the king to set forth a proclamation, bearing date April 29, to all justices, and other officers to give all diligence to seize all such sowers and tellers abroad of vain and forged tales and lies; and every such author or maker of false tales or news, to be committed into the galleys, there

1549.
p. 149.

Disparaging news told of the king's affairs; but false.

1549. to row in chains, as a slave or forsary, during the king's pleasure.

The teston money.

The teston was a very common piece of current coin under King Henry VIII. and in these times of King Edward. It was a sort of coarse money, or under standard, coined at first by the said King Henry with his face and stamp, and went for twelve pence. Vast quantities of them were coined abroad, and brought into England; and they more than other pieces for the greatness and facility of counterfeiting them. The counterfeitors were for the most part strangers, dwelling in foreign parts, who found means to convey hither privily, and disperse the said counterfeit pieces abroad in the king's dominions. But all testons were by a proclamation the last year put down, so that none should be taken after the last of December, in the second year of the king, but as bullion. But by another proclamation in January, they were prolonged for some time, by reason of the great numbers of these testons dispersed in so many hands; besides, many in policy, hard upon the day, made whole payments in the said coin; and especially for that, those that had plenty of other money took unreasonable allowance of the poorer sort (which were most to be relieved) for the exchange of their testons; so that much detriment might ensue to the possessors of them, unless a remedy, by prolonging of the term then appointed for their calling in, were provided. Upon which considerations the king thought good to prolong the term to the first of May; and so the teston to continue till then, for current money.

p. 150.

They are cried down.

On May 22, another proclamation came forth for the annihilating of testons, importing, that the king had prolonged the term of allowing them for current money, as was shewed before, upon trust that in that space, every man helping in their way, all manner of the said testons of the stamp of the late king should have been brought into the mint and exchanged; but that many had kept them still in their hands, abusing his majesty's clemency, and

fewer sithence that time, till of late had been brought into the mint: which testons, if they should remain only mere bullion, would be great loss and hindrance to the subject; and if they should still remain, would be greatest loss and hindrance to the realm; therefore they were now to be cried down, and never hereafter taken for current money. Yet the king, of his princely clemency and liberality, was content, that such sums of money as should be due to him, as well for relief granted in the last session of parliament, as for all other rents and debts, might be paid in good and lawful testons before the first of June next, and so received of his treasurers after the rate and value of twelve pence; and after that, for the space and time of two months, that is, until the last of July, the king was content to receive these testons at the mint for bullion, after the rate of twelve pence the piece. And moreover, it should be lawful for any person to buy testons, with intent to bring them to the mint; so that he buy them for no less price than eleven pence half-penny the piece; upon pain that whosoever should buy any such pieces for his own greedy lucre, under that value, to the damage of the poor men, who should sell the same, should forfeit those testons, and ten times the value. And for that price the mints were ordered to receive them.

About the month of May, the king, to prevent the disgusts that might arise amongst his commons, and to stop insurrections now foreseen, issued out his proclamation against decay of houses, (for husbandmen, plowmen, and such like,) of commons and lawful inclosures contrary to good and wholesome laws heretofore made; the king did therefore command such offences to be amended, and to redress all faults committed against those acts, and against the benefit of the commonwealth: and for the better performance of the same, that all his officers to whom it did appertain to see the same redressed, should receive informations, make inquiry, and earnestly endeavour to see redress and punishment of all such offenders.

1549.

Inclosures
and decay
of houses
forbid.

1549.
Routs and
uproars
against
inclosures.

p. 151.
Pardoned.

But many of the king's subjects took occasion hence to run into great disorder, or pretended to take occasion so to do; for they riotously, with routs and companies, with sword and violence, of their own heads and authority, assembled themselves in many places, plucked down men's hedges, disparked their parks; and being led by furious and light guides of uproars, taking upon them the direction of things, the king's royal power and sword not regarded, committed such enormities and offences, as they justly merited the loss of life, lands and goods: but at length they were brought humbly to submit themselves, and beg pardon. Whereupon the king, by a proclamation dated June the 12th, pardoned them: looking upon this outrage (as the said proclamation set forth) as done rather of folly, and mistaking of his former proclamation, and at the instigation and motion of certain lewd and seditious persons, than of any malice or ill will that they bare to the king or quiet of the realm; excepting such persons as were apprehended and already in prison, as heads of the said outrage and routs. But this rage of the commons had gotten too great a head to be allayed by this clemency of the prince, as it proved not long afterwards in many parts of England, as may be read at large in our historians.

A great
dearth of
provision.

All provisions this summer grew very dear, and the prices of victuals so enhanced above the accustomed value, and this without ground or reasonable cause, as thereby great loss and danger, without speedy remedy, must happen to the subject. Therefore the king resolved to take some remedy herein; and especially being backed with the authority of former good statutes, and particularly two made in 25 of Henry VIII. The effect of the latter whereof was, that the lord treasurer, the lord chancellor, and divers others of the king's great officers there mentioned, should have power and authority, from time to time, to set and tax reasonable prices on all kinds of victuals, how they should be sold in gross or by retail,

for relief of the king's subjects: and that after such prices be set, proclamation should be made, under the great seal, of the said prices; and that all farmers and other victuallers should sell all kinds of victuals according as they should be taxed by the said proclamation, upon certain pains and penalties. In pursuance of this and other acts, the lord treasurer, and lord chancellor, and others, set and taxed reasonable prices upon all kinds of victuals; and the king confirmed the same with his proclamation, dated July 2, which taxation was after this manner:

From Midsummer to Hallowmas.

Every ox being primed and well stricken	s.	d.
of the largest bone	38	0
Of a meaner sort	28	0
An ox, fat, and of the largest bone	45	0
Of the meaner sort, being fat	38	0
Steers or runts, being primed or well stricken, and large of bone	20	0
Of a meaner sort	16	0
Being fat of the largest bone	25	0
Being fat of a meaner sort	21	0
Heifers and kine, being primed and well stricken, and large of bone	16	0
Of a meaner sort	13	4
Being fat and large of bone	22	0
Being fat and of a meaner sort	18	0

From Hallowmas to Christmas.

Every ox, being fat and large of bone	46	8
Being fat of a meaner sort	39	8
Steers and runts, being fat and large of bone	26	8
Being fat of a meaner sort	22	8
Heifers and kine, being fat and large of bone	23	0
Of a meaner sort	19	0

1549.

p. 152.

1549.

From Christmas to Shrovetide.

Every ox, being fat and large of bone	48	4
Of a meaner sort	41	4
Steers and runts, being fat and large of bone	28	4
Of a meaner sort	24	4

From sheering time to Michaelmas.

Every weather, being a shear-sheep, lean and large of bone	3	0
Of a meaner sort	2	4
Being fat and large of bone	4	0
Being fat of a meaner sort	3	0
Ewes, being lean and large of bone	2	0
Being lean of a meaner sort	0	20
Being fat and large of bone	2	0

From Michaelmas to Shrovetide.

Every weather, being a shear-sheep, lean and large of bone	3	0
Being lean of a meaner sort	2	4
Being fat and large of bone	4	4
Being fat of meaner sort	3	4

And besides these, bacon, butter, cheese, were rated: and all farmers, graziers, and others, that had cattle or corn, were bound to bring a certain number and quantity of them to the market.

The protector
loses him-
self with
the nobi-
lity.

The lord protector had by this time much lost himself among the nobility and gentry: for, being of a gentle and good nature, he loved and pitied the poorer sort, too much opprest by the rich, and particularly by that covetous practice of inclosures; whereby the cattle of the poor were shut out of their ancient benefit of feeding in commons; by means of which their children and families were half maintained: which made the protector somewhat sharp upon those of the higher rank and quality. He be-

gan also to grow too big for the rest of the nobles : so that there now was but a thin court, and a thin council table. Of this his friend Sir William Paget took notice, and wrote him letters of good counsel concerning it last Christmas, telling him the evil that would follow. And so indeed it fell out this summer, as we shall see in due place. This behaviour of the protector was so well observed, that a Spaniard being now in England, made this witty, but malicious relation of it, when he came home, that he saw the protector ride upon a fair goodly horse, but he trembled ; and that he was so strong and big made, that he carried both his grace, and all the king's council at once upon his back : meaning, that there was no king's council in effect but himself only. So that the protector had now procured himself many formidable enemies, as we shall hear ere long.

In June, the protector and council sent to the Lady Mary (knowing how averse she was thereunto) to conform to King Edward's laws, and to observe in her family the new Book of Common Prayer, now by parliament commanded, the use whereof to commence at and from Pentecost; and also to send unto them her comptroller, and Dr. Hopton, her chaplain. But she in her answer, dated June 22, from Kenninghall, refused to do either, saying, "She could not spare her comptroller, and her chaplain had been sick. She told them, moreover, that the law made by parliament, (meaning the law lately made for ratifying and enjoining the Common Prayer Book) was not worthy the name of a law. That King Henrie's executors were sworn to his laws. That her house was her flock. That she deferred her obedience to the king's laws, till he were of sufficient years. That she was subject to none of the council, and the like," which gave great offence.

Dr. Hopton at length came before the council ; and to them he professed he allowed the Communion Book ; and dispatching him back to the Lady Mary, they bad him declare this his conscience to her ; and

1549. giving at large their answers to the several parts of her letter, to deliver them to her (which answers of the council are preserved in Fox) they sent him away. And this was the order they sent with him.

Acts and
Mon.
p. 1212.
The coun-
cil to Lady
Mary.
MSS. G.
Petyt
Armig.

"After due commendations unto your grace, the same may by these presents understand, that we have heard your chaplain, Dr. Hopton, and in like manner informed him for the declaration of such things as we have instructed him to utter unto you, whom we require your grace to credit therein accordingly. Thus we pray God conserve your grace in health. From Richmond, July 7, 1549.

*E. Somerset. T. Cant. R. Ryche, Canc.
W. S. John. J. Warwyck. A. Wyngfield.
W. Petre, S. A. Denny. E. North.
R. Sadleyr."*

See more of these matters between the council and the Lady Mary under the next year.

CHAP. XIX.

The realm in ill terms with Scotland and France. Paget's ambassy to the emperor. A match propounded for the Lady Mary. The emperor intercedes for her liberty in religion.

The French
send forces
to Scot-
land.

p. 154.

THE English nation continued still in hostility with Scotland, and in little better understanding with France. And France, according to her custom, backed Scotland; where Mons. de Termes arrived this summer from the French king, bringing with him the number of five hundred footmen, and an hundred horsemen: no great force; especially considering that far greater forces were expected to have been sent this year; for these were like to go but a little way in resisting the power of England. But the truth was, the French were loath to spare men at this time, the emperor his enemy being sick and like to die. And the French, who came now over with De Termes,

had plainly confessed, upon question asked, wherefore no greater aid was sent, seeing such preparation for the war was reported to be made in France? that it was true the French king had greater numbers in readiness; but because the emperor was sickly, and unlike to continue long in life (being laid up with a great fit of the gout, out of which yet he escaped) that king kept his forces together; thinking, that whensoever God should dispose of the emperor, he should be able to do great feats, and almost what he listed that way.

The English took from the Scots this year the island of Inchequeth, by the conduct of Cotton; and being in great towardness for the fortification thereof, it so chanced that our ships, and in them many of the soldiers appointed to attend the said Cotton at Inchequeth, were departed from the island for the doing of another exploit; when the Scots and Frenchmen, having notice of the departure of our ships with the men in them, taking the advantage of some negligence used on our behalf, and having also prepared for this matter before, came with their galleys, and as many other ships and boats as they could make, and approached the island, and after some resistance, in the end distressed our men, and took the island, with such ordnance as was planted upon the same.

During the emperor's sickness, mentioned before, there was great practising in the beginning of this year, between the French and the Germans; which the English court understanding, out of friendship and gratitude to the emperor, who had before sent informations hither of practices against us, thought fit to give him notice of it by Hoby, ambassador ledgier there; which the council thus expressed in their letters to him, dated from Greenwich, May 5. "That forasmuch as the emperor divers times had very gently and friendly advertised the king's majesty of such practices as had been attempted against his country, or any of his fortresses or pieces, wherein the king's majesty had taken great pleasure and com-

1549.

Inche-
queth ta-
ken from
the Scots;And re-
taken.The Eng-
lish inform
the empe-
ror of
French
practices.Galba,
B. 12.

1549. fort; they thought it to be their parts, and the duty of mutual amity, to signify all such things to his majesty, which might peradventure be any danger to his person, or to the surety of the Prince of Spain (his son) and the house of Burgundy: with whom the king's majesty and his ancestors had so long sure amity. And therefore, where they were certainly advertised, that the French king had great intelligence and conference with princes and noblemen about the river of Elbe and the Weser Holste, and the country there adjoining about the sea; insomuch that where the king's majesty had intended to have transported by that country a certain number of footmen and some horsemen by the sea, there had been such practices, partly by the Rhinegrave, and by others, that not only they had been let of coming that way, but that they did perceive to be almost continual posting and riding to and fro of French gentlemen; who did practise with such captains and noblemen as were thereabouts, to draw them to be not content with the emperor: insomuch that it was not kept secret, that they had gotten to the number of 22,000 foot, and 3000 horse; which were ready at all times, expecting but the warning, to be amassed for the French attempt, the which the French king intended to put forth, if any thing should chance otherwise but well to the emperor; daily expecting and looking for his death. Upon which opportunity he would give the attempt."

p. 155.

This advice the council required the ambassador, "Taking convenient time and opportunity, to shew and report to the emperor, or Monsieur Arras (one of his chief counsellors), with gentle declaration of the good-will of the king and his council towards his majesty; to the intent he might not be ignorant thereof, and might order that such practices and dangers might be occurred and met withal in convenient time." After this friendly manner did England behave itself towards the emperor, to keep him the faster to her, while she had France and Scotland her enemies.

Considering therefore the present state of England, with respect to her enemies both before and behind her, the king and his council thought it their interest to court the emperor. To him they sent this summer (besides Hoby, resident at the court) Sir William Paget, comptroller of the king's household, a man who, as he was well learned, so as well exercised in embassies, and well seen in matters of state; whose business was to renew and make fast the amity with the emperor, which had been made formerly between him and the king's father. And to make a proposition of marriage for the Lady Mary, the king's sister, with the Infant of Portugal, nephew, I think, to the emperor; a thing common in these times in all treaties almost, to strengthen them with matches. By this embassy with the emperor, the English court intended to learn perfectly, how he stood affected to this nation, and to get him to assist it in the defence of Boloign, now severely threatened by the French, and, if possible, to engage him into war with France. And it was a part of the ambassador's instructions to offer to join with the emperor in a common invasion of that kingdom.

1549.
Paget sent
ambassa-
dor to the
emperor.

The said ambassador arrived at Brussels June 19, and two days after sent to Granvela, the emperor's antient and chief counsellor, signifying that he was come from the King of England, desiring to know when he should wait upon the emperor, to open, on his majesty's behalf, certain things unto him; with which message, in many obliging words, he promised to acquaint the emperor presently; and the same day in the afternoon, Monsieur Chattony, Granvel's son, came to visit him on the emperor's and his father's behalf. Paget, at his admission to the emperor (together with Hoby the other ambassador) acquainted his majesty, that he was sent to travail to establish and confirm the amity between him and the king his master, by such means as should be thought good for both parties; and the rather at this time when the prince his son was there in those countries, to whom,

The causes
of his em-
bassy.

1549. as they thought, he meant to leave his countries and dominions, so they doubted not he would make him inheritor of his amity and alliance. A second cause of his coming was to communicate unto him the estate of the king's affairs with the Scots, their common enemies; and also the French, the emperor's dissembled friend, and their enemies. And a third cause was to treat, if he so thought good, upon a matter of marriage, which chanced to come in communication, as the ambassador said, upon occasion of devising ways for the increase and augmentation of this amity.

p. 156.

The emperor's subjects had traffic with Scotland at this time, who conveyed over commodities thither, and the emperor had granted safe conduct to them. The ambassador, on this occasion, desired the emperor to give order to stay the safe conducts that were given out to his subjects to traffic thither; and also to grant his consent, that his subjects taken beyond Berwick, in their voyage towards Scotland, might be lawfully stayed by the English, and their goods taken as forfeits. Whereby the Scots, wanting this continual relief and assistance, might be sooner brought to some reason.

The ambassador shews the emperor the case between the French and English.

“ And, Sir (said the ambassador to the emperor), whereas in the wars with the Scots, the French have by sundry means endeavoured to impeach our proceedings there, and also dealt on this side very unfriendly and unneighbourly towards us, the king's majesty, loth to continue in this faint sort of friendship, and desirous to know their meaning herein, sent lately a gentleman of his to the French king, desiring to know what he intended by this unfriendly sort of dealing: for if he thought, as by the proceedings of his ministers he seemed to mean, to break with his majesty, and to enter into open hostility, albeit he was not desirous of war, he required that, like a prince of honour, he would notify unto us the same, and he should be answered accordingly; for after this sort to be used, his majesty neither could nor would

endure; and that he looked by the same messenger to receive resolute answer. Whereupon the French king alledged, that these piques had been ministred by ministers upon the frontiers; and affirmed, that he meant nothing less than to break with us, but rather to continue peace and amity, yea, and to augment it: and also offered unto the said gentleman to appoint commissioners to meet with my master's, both for the relief of these quarrels, and the establishment, if need were, of a further friendship, or to do any other reasonable thing that might serve for that purpose. Which offer, being so aptly moved on the French part, his grace the lord protector (as the ambassador proceeded in his speech to the emperor), with the advice of the rest of the council, remembering that the English had now this eight years, and four of them alone without other help, continued in wars both against Scotland and the French king (who was a prince of great power, having to do no where else), had thought good not to refuse; and hereupon had appointed commissioners to meet with the French. But that they should not conclude any thing prejudicial to the treaties that were, or should be, passed between the emperor and the king his master; neither should they proceed to any resolute conclusion, but the emperor should have knowledge thereof.

The emperor made a very courteous, obliging answer, in general, in agreeableness to the ambassador's message; and particularly spake favourably of the protector, saying, "I know I cannot want my lord protector's good furtherance, who is my friend and old acquaintance, and hath heretofore been with me, when I have right well perceived his good affection towards mine estate and proceedings; which I shall not forget to requite as I may."

Granvela spake more particularly, and at large, to the ambassador, of the good affection the emperor bore to King Edward; and that he was moved the rather to owe the king's majesty this fatherly love, not only for the amity that he always found in King

1549.

The
emperor's
answer;The em-
peror's an-
swer;

p. 157.

And Gran-
vela's.

1549. Henry until his latter day, but also, because it liked him at the hour of his death to will the king, his son, to follow his friendship, and join with the same, who, he affirmed, in very deed should find him a father, whensoever cause should require. Then speaking of the Infant of Portugal, said, he was about forty years of age, brother to the King of Portugal. As for his personage, good wit, and qualities, he assured the ambassador he was a gentleman worthy to be matched with any great princess, beside the good-will the emperor bare to him, whom he esteemed as his son; and affirming, that there was not in Christendom so meet a match as would be between these twain. "And I promise you (said the ambassador), for our part, that the Lady Mary is, as I suppose you know well enough, in beauty, vertue, and honest qualities, nothing inferior to that worthiness ye report this gentleman, Don Louis, of Portugal, to be of. And on the other side, she is sister to a King of England, and near kin to the emperor, and one whom I guess his majesty favoureth as a daughter of his." When Granvela asked, What think ye to bestow on her? for I would be loth to come empty-handed to the emperor; and therefore I pray you descend to some particulars. The ambassador said, she had a goodly yearly revenue left to her by the king deceased: which Granvela making light of, the ambassador told him, that the king her father, at what time he was of very great riches, married his two sisters, the one to the French king, with 200,000 crowns, and the other to the Scotch king, with an 100,000 crowns. And I pray you, added the ambassador, what did the King of Romans offer with his daughter for the king my master? Yea, said he, King Ferdinando is but a poor prince; but the king your master being so rich and puissant, cannot but distribute liberally with his sister, and according to his honour; for his father did offer once with her to this same man 40,000*l.* sterling. Yea, Sir, replied the ambassador, my master is, as you know, and hath been long time, in wars,

The Lady
Mary's
match.

and hath had occasion to be at great charges and expences of money. However, in case the Infant may assure this lady a covenable dower, we will not let to stretch ourselves to twice as much as her father left her by his testament, peradventure to an 100,000 crowns. All this I extract from Paget's letter to the protector.

1549.

Galba, B. 12.

Consented to by her.

As to this match with Portugal, the council had beforehand sent to the Lady Mary for her consent to move it, and she had sent them a letter signifying her allowance of it: she had also sent the council a letter, by her drawn up, to be presented to the emperor; which the council, in their next letters, sent open to Paget to peruse, and after to seal, endorse, and deliver.

This mutual league against France, it seemed, the emperor would stand well disposed to, because France had lately invaded his countries, and made great spoil there; and therefore, upon Paget's motion in his late letters, it was deliberated in the council, whether it should be an article in this amity to invade France jointly (as indeed it was put in his instructions), seeing it was probable the emperor would and must do it the next year; or rather wholly to omit the mention thereof, it seeming best to leave themselves at liberty, and not to intangle the nation in wars, whence it might be difficult to get out again when it should be weary of them. Of this and other things now in hand with the emperor, more light may be let in by a letter of the said ambassador, dated the last day of June, to the lord protector, and the answer given by the council: the former may be found in the Cotton Library, and both that and the other in the Repository. Whereby also appears, that the council varied also in another particular of their instructions given to Paget, namely, about Boloign; for the defence of which, together with the rest of the king's forts, the emperor's assistance was required. Which article the council was now determined to omit, having considered the vast trouble and charges that place, with

Deliberation about invasion of France. p. 158.

Galba, B. 12.

BB. CC.

Boloign a burden.

1549. the members thereof, had cost the king, and still was like to do, the benefit not answerable; and therefore the king was now minded to relinquish it to the French, upon reasonable recompence. Yet I find it was urged afterward by the ambassador.

The emperor delays the ambassador;

Whether the propositions of the English ambassador were of that import, that they required much time to deliberate on them, or some other matter were the cause, but the emperor was slow in giving his answer: for it was not before July 22, that D'Arras came to Paget's lodgings, and excused himself that he came not before to him with the emperor's answer, having been busied, as he said, in swearing the towns of Brabant to the Prince of Spain. But he prayed the ambassador to take patience (seeing him somewhat hot at this delay) until his coming to Bruges, where he said he should be dispatched without fail. But Paget at this seeing himself only fed with fair words, could not keep patience, but entering somewhat into choler, answered him, "I am here now at the emperor's will and commandment, and he may stay me as long as it liketh him, and dispatch me when he list; but were I once at home, I know that neither the king's majesty would send me hither; nor I, for my part, to win 100,000 crowns, would come again about any like matter, considering how coldly ye have hitherto proceeded. And surely I am sorry, that either you should judge me so void of wit, that I could not perceive wherunto this childish excuse tendeth, or occasion me to suppose you so much without consideration, as to think I would be brought to believe, that the swearing of the prince, and his receiving into these towns, could be any delay to the answering of those things that I am now come hither for. A matter easy enough to be perceived of such as never had any experience in the world: for who can think that the emperor would have brought his son hither to be sworn and received of his subjects, without having before concluded and determined the whole circumstance thereof with the estates here?

Who is offended thereat.

Or, can the occupation therein be such, and so continual, as he hath no time to answer to four or five points proponed to him almost now five weeks past?" Hereunto D'Arras very coldly answered, that in truth the cause of his (the ambassador's) stay, whatsoever he thought, was only such as he had shewed him: and therefore prayed him not to conceive any other opinion. "For I assure you, added he, the emperor beareth the king, his good brother, as much affection as if he were his son, and would gladly aid and assist him in all things to the uttermost that he may conveniently. But, said he, these matters are weighty, and require to be answered unto with deliberation."

1549.

p. 159.

A few days after, Mons. D'Arras, accompanied with two presidents of the emperor's council (S. Maurice and Viglius), gave this answer to our ambassadors: "That albeit the emperor thought the king, being under age, could not himself, by the order of the law, conclude upon any thing now in his minority, that should be of due strength and force, able to bind him and his country, when he should come to his perfect age; yet taking, that his tutors, being authorized thereto by the common consent of the parliament, might go through and conclude upon these, or like things, in his name, he thought it would do well, when his (the emperor's) subjects should be recompenced for the wrongs they had hitherto sustained; and that some order might be devised for the administration of justice hereafter in like cases."

Emperor's
answer.

"That, as touching the confirmation of the treaty that was first made between the emperor and King Henry VIII. and not ratified by the present king, the emperor thought that he had most cause to require the same. Wherefore, because he thought that what the king himself should conclude upon, during his minority, could not be of sufficient force; but if his tutors should be, by authority of parliament, enabled therto, the emperor was content the treaty should be confirmed by them in the king's name, and by the

1349. Prince of Spain, in such form as should be thought best by both parties.

"As to the comprehension of Boloign, that they had a treaty with France, as well as with England, which the emperor could not, without some touch of his honour, break without just ground; and albeit his majesty would be loth to see the king, his good brother, foregoe either that piece, or any jot of his right, yet could he not enter this defence, unless he should break with France out of hand, which, in respect of his other affairs, he could not yet do. Howbeit he would gladly assist his good brother in any other thing the best he might, and would not fail to shew him all the pleasure he could with regard to his honour: but with Boloign he could not meddle at that time."

To which
the ambas-
sador re-
plies.

Here D'Arras staying, Paget asked him, whether that were the emperor's resolute and full answer? Which when D'Arras had affirmed, Paget proceeded: "That albeit he had no commission to make any reply, because it was not known to the lord protector, what the emperor's resolution should be, yet in way of talk he would be bold to say his mind herein. We have, Mons. D'Arras (said he), always esteemed the emperor's friendship, and desired the observation of the treaties, and the entertainment of amity, as a thing necessary and common to both the parties, for the better establishment thereof; and that now, and in this time, some good fruit, to the benefit of both, might appear to the world to follow of the same, I was sent hither, which was the chiefest cause of my coming. And because the amity betwixt both princes might be the firmer, and that all doubts being taken away, no cause of quarrel should be left, we thought best to put you in mind of the confirmation and revisitation of the treaty, to the intent that by the one the world might see an establishment of our friendship by overt deed; and that by the other, one of us might understand another, and consider, whether any thing were to be added for the commodity of both parties; which, I

p. 160.

suppose, standeth you as much upon to desire, as it doth us. 1549.

“And wheras you say, that the king’s majesty, because he is under age, cannot conclude, or go through with any thing that shall be of sufficient force, I must needs tell you plainly, that you touch his majesty’s honour over near herein. For we think that the majesty of a king is of such efficacy, that he hath even the same authority and full power at the first hour of his birth that he hath thirty years after. And what your laws are I know not, but sure I am, that by our laws, whatsoever is don by the king in his minority, or by his ministers in his name, is of no less force and strength, than if it had been don in time of his full age and years. If once the great seal of the realm hath passed, there is no remedy but need must he stand therto. Marry, let the ministers take heed what they do, and look that they be able to discharge themselves towards him of their doings, if he shall require account of them, when he cometh to age. For it is they must answer him, but he must stand to whatsoever they have counsilled him to agree unto, during his minority. And to prove that our laws give him the same authority now, that he shall have when he cometh to his perfect age, if any man, either for the instruction of learning, or any other cause, should presume to lay hands upon, or touch his majesty, in way of correction, he should by the law be taken as a traitor. And if the matter were as ye take it, we should be then in a strange and evil case. For neither might we conclude peace, league or treaty, nor make laws, acts or statutes, during the king’s minority, which should be of sufficient force to bind him and his to the observation of the same. But ye mistake the matter much. And therefore, if the emperor mindeth to procede to confirmation, he may, or otherwise do, as it shall please him.”

Then did the ambassador descend to the other matters; as to answer a complaint of the emperor for lack of justice in his subjects’ causes. To which

1549. he said, "That there had not any man complained in our country, and required justice, to whom the same had been denied. And that although some men, abiding the order of the English laws, or having some sentence that pleased them not, complained thither of delay or lack of justice, they were not therefore by and by to judge that they said true, or that there was not uprightness or equity used in our country. For as the emperor had in those his countries, so the English had in theirs, ministers that were wise and well learned in the laws, and men of honesty and good conscience, who dealt and proceeded justly, as the order of the laws led them, without respect to favour or friendship of any man."

The case of pretended wrong done to a jeweller, the emperor's subject.

p. 161.

But the complaints of one of the emperor's subjects was particularly incumbent upon the ambassador now to answer. Whose case D'Arras had especially urged. It was concerning a jeweller, that had gotten a safe conduct of King Henry VIII. to bring into England certain jewels. For which he had the said king's hand and seal: but because he had it not sealed also with the great seal of England, his jewels were taken from him: and he not present, (although it were so named in his sentence, being then dead) was condemned to lose them by order of our law. Which sentence D'Arras had aggravated to have been contrary to all equity and justice. And that it seemed very strange to him, that when the king's hand and seal appeared to be sufficient for greater matters, it sufficed not for a less; and when the treaties provided, that the subjects of one prince might frankly, without impediment, traffic and occupy in the other prince's country. But to shade the matter, one, he could not tell who, had been agreed withal, and so the poor man and his heirs put from their right. Therefore, said D'Arras, the emperor thought it were meet, or ever any further order should be concluded upon, that his subjects were first recompenced of those wrongs they had sustained, and the matter brought to some end, and the emperor's

people put in as good case as the king's were. For he assured him their wrongs were many. As to the matter of the jeweller thus did the ambassador answer, "That as they there had laws in their country for the direction of their commonwealth, so we had also in ours : whereby among the rest were forbidden, for good respects, the bringing or transporting forth certain things without the king's safe conduct and licence. And although the treaty gave liberty to the subjects of either prince to traffic into the other's country, it was not, for all that, meant hereby, that they should not be bound to observe the laws or orders of the country whereunto they traffiqued. For this liberty was only granted for the security of their persons to go and come without impeachment, and made not men, for all that, lawless. And whereas further it was provided by our law, that in certain things to be granted by the king, the same grant must pass under the great seal, if any of those things pass under any other seal, they be not of due force until they have also past the great seal of England. Wherefore, added he, if the jeweller, either by negligence or covetousness of himself, or those he put in trust, did not observe this order, but, for sparing a little cost, did presume to bring in his jewels before his licence came to the broad seal, methinks, neither he nor any other can have just cause to say, that he was wronged, if according to our laws he were censured to lose the same. And yet after he was thus condemned, the ambassador proceeded, more to gratifie the emperor, than for that I took it to be reasonable, I myself was a suitor to my lord protector's grace for some recompence to be made the jeweller's wife, whom we knew, and none other, to be party. For she followed the suit ; she presented the petitions ; in her name were they made, and finally she, and none other, was by the emperor's ambassador commended unto us." D'Arras said, he had seen the sentence, and did mislike nothing so much therein, as that the man was condemned, and named to have been present,

1549.

Answered
by the
ambassa-
dor.The emper-
tor's
danger if
Bologn
were lost.Page's
reputation
in the
emperor's
court.

1549. at the time of his condemnation, when indeed he was dead a good while before. "He was present, said the ambassador, in the person of his wife, who was his procurator, and represented himself."

p. 162. And continuing his speech the more to clear this matter, "He knew, he said, that those before whom this matter past were men both learned and of good conscience, and such as would not have done herein any thing against right and order of the law. And finally, that the sentences given in our country by the justice and ministers there, were just and true. And that therefore they neither could nor would revoke them for any man's pleasure, after they had once past the higher courts, from whence there was no further appellation, no more than they there would call back such final order, as had been in any case taken by their high court of Brabant."

The emperor's danger if Boloign were lost.

And whereas the emperor had declined comprehending Boloign into the treaty, the ambassador said, "That if the same should happen to be taken from the king by force, which he trusted it should not, the loss would be common, and touch the emperor almost as neer as us. And therefore it was that he thought good, for the better surety thereof, to move this comprehension : which was as necessary for the emperor, as it was for the king. And whereas, as he added, they stuck so much upon their honours in breaking their treaties with the French, he remembred, he said, Monsieur Granvela, at his late being with him, did not let to say, that he had his sleeve full of quarrels against the French, whensoever the emperor list to break with them. D'Arras replied, they had so indeed ; but the time was not yet come ; and that they must temporize their things in this case, as the rest of their affairs led them."

Paget gets reputation in the emperor's court.

With this faint answer Paget came home from his embassy, leaving Sir Philip Hoby behind, resident, as he was before. But though he succeeded not, he got great reputation in the emperor's court, and was spoken of very honourably, being gone. And Hoby

wrote to the protector, that he was grateful generally to all that court, a few of England's back friends only excepted, who mistrusted much, lest he had compassed somewhat to their disadvantage. And the rather they were driven to conceive this opinion, because his entertainment had been such, and so respectful, as well with the emperor as his council. And he was so generally commended and well reported of by all, and the fame of his prudent handling himself so spread abroad every where, as they could not but think, but that of such toward likelihood some great effect must needs follow. Hoby added, that should he not perhaps be suspected of adulation, he might find sufficient matter to consume a long time in discoursing of his gravity and prudence, used as well in setting forth and well handling his charge towards the emperor and his counsellors, as in his behaviour generally towards all others. Whereby he had purchased to himself love and credit with all men, and not a little for the king's majesty's honour and estimation in those parts.

It must not be omitted, because reference will be made to it hereafter, that upon Paget's last audience of the emperor, the emperor recommended the case of his cousin, the Lady Mary: praying the king that she might be favoured, and permitted to have her antient manner of religion. Whereunto the ambassador considering he had no commission to treat of that matter, answered, with the advice of Sir Philip Hoby, that he would make report of his request unto his master and the protector, and to the rest of the council, and doubted not but she should have that favour that was convenient for her, being the king's sister, and the emperor's cousin. Of which request and answer at his coming home he made report accordingly.

1549.

1549.
The Eng-
lish treat
with
France.

The empe-
ror inter-
cedes for
the Lady
Mary, for
liberty of
her re-
ligion.

p. 163.

Open hos-
tily with
the realm.

CHAP. XX.

Matters with France. The Duke of Somerset's letters to Sir Philip Hoby, ambassador with the emperor: shewing France's dealings with England.

1549.
The Eng-
lish treat
with
France.

THE answer of the emperor's commissioners, mentioned above, was somewhat cold, and not according to the desire and expectation of the English court, though it were interlaced with plenty of good words: and as great plenty of the like had the English ambassador requited them with. The effect whereof (perceiving how little England was to expect from the emperor) was, that the king and his council did more seriously set themselves to make some conclusion with the French. For at this time, Dr. Wotton was ambassador at that court, being sent there to make complaints, and to argue matters of difference between the English and them; and to know the reason of those great preparations for war that were making there: when the commissioners appointed to treat with Wotton, were Monsieur De Rochepot, Monsieur de Chastilion, and one Monsieur de Mortier, one of the masters of the requests, all three of the council. At the naming of whom the constable Montmorancy gave our ambassador very good words: yet for that the two chief of these men were officers upon their frontiers, fierce and haughty in their dispositions, and named by them contrary to the request made on the English behalf, it was doubted much, what would ensue of this meeting, notwithstanding all their fair words, of which they gave plenty. And indeed it proved of little effect, as we shall perceive presently.

Open hos-
tility with
the realm.

Sir Philip Hoby was still at Brussels, to prosecute the English affairs with the emperor. And in the month of August, the king and council brake into open hostility with the French king, whose abuses

and wrongs were intolerable. And now without warning attacking England by sea and land, himself appearing at the head of an army against Boloign. To keep the emperor fast, Hoby had instructions from England to acquaint him herewith, and withal to shew him the whole state of our causes with France. Therefore at large, thus did the Duke of Somerset, in the aforesaid month, inform the ambassador with these matters: which I the rather set down, because it will so elucidate the quarrel between England and France.

“After our harty commendations: albeit we think that the world, after so many examples, and so long experience, be in all places well acquainted with the French practices and crafty proceedings; who, having respect only to the satisfaction of their own insatiable ambition, cease not, without respect to former leagues and confederations, yea, or without warnings, or any intimations, suddenly to declare hostility, and by that means to take by stealth the advantage of the time, and unlookt for, to attempt all the displeasure they may against their neighbours and confederates: albeit we say this be well enough known to the world; yet for that we be the last with whom they have renewed this feat, knowing that they use to travail to colour with braggs and fair words all their doings, be they never so foul and dishonourable; to the intent you may be truly informed of the occasion of these wars, which the French king hath now begun against the king's majesty, we have thought good to make some declaration unto you of the very troth of theirs and our doings, since the death of the king's majesty, our late master.

“First, where for taking away of all occasions of strifes or contention for the limits of Bolognois, there were commissioners appointed by our said late master and the late French king, to treat upon those and certain other differences, and to bring the same to some good appointment; the said differences being

1549. almost agreed upon, it pleased God to call our said late master to his mercy. After whose death new commissioners were made by the late French king and the king's majesty, by the advice of us, the lord protector and the council: by force of which commission all those differences were well and reasonably agreed upon: the treaties drawn, sealed and delivered by the commissioners on both sides, and immediately after dyed the late French king. The French king that now is not only refused to stand to this treaty, but also seeking all occasions to encroach upon the king's majesties ground, would never (although it hath been many times required) assent to have any certain order taken for declaration of the limits. Upon occasion therof, albeit the treaty of perpetual peace, made at the end of the last wars, doth to every man's judgment set forth the said limits plain enough, yet the French men cavilling with words, and pretending now this, now that, have at one time claimed this piece of ground, and at another time another, being parcel of his majesties new conquests. And among all other, they have taken an old castle, called Fiennes, expresly within the king's territories: and not only taken it, but fortified the same, contrary to the express words of the treaty, both in claiming of it, and in fortifying. Forasmuch as the treaty provideth, that neither prince should make any new fortification within Boloignois, during the said term in the said treaty specified. They have also, directly, both against the treaty, and other special agreement, fortified the point of the hill at the mouth of Boloign haven, for the annoyance of our ships passing and repassing into the same.

p. 165. “Besides this, the French king demaundeth from his highness the pension due to be paid yearly, and especially provided for in the said treaty. And with injuries not contented, they have, as all the world knoweth, of late attempted the suppressing of the king's majesty's fort of Boloignberg at one time: at

another, the taking of the mole in Boloign haven, besides others their outragious spoils, robberies, and killing of his highness subjects on that side; which proceeded to such extremity, and so far out of reason, that the French king's great officers being spoken withal for redress, instead of justice, answered, that for every of their men killed by ours, they would kill twenty; and for one ox or bullock taken, forty, yea, an hundred should be taken of ours. 1549.

“ So as after many requests to have things considered according to justice, his majesty having none other means to see his subjects recompenced, was forced, for want of other remedy, to grant them letters of mart, to get therby recompence of their losses upon the French king's merchants trafficking the seas. And yet, before the granting thereof, we caused all those to whom the same was granted, to be first bound with good sureties, that all goods to be by them taken, should be truly shewed before the officers of the next port, and valued by indifferent men. So as either the said wares which were taken, or the just value of them, should always be ready to be restored, if justice might have been had for the king's majesty's subjects in France.

“ To all these wrongs the French king hath heaped the taking away the Scotch queen; who, as you know, by parliament and common agreement of the three estates of that realm, was before promised to the king's majesty. And besides that, both before and sithence also, hath aided the said Scotch, being the king's majesty's vassals, with men, munition, victuals, and all other necessities, to the uttermost of his power, contrary not only to the treaties, but also to all friendship and honour.

“ These things considered, and seeing also preparation for the war made in France, we sent an express messenger to the French king to learn his meaning; and required him, in case he meant to break with us, he would openly declare the same, using such means of ending the war, as betwixt princes of honour hath

1549. been accustomed. Wherunto he answered, that he minded no such thing; but whensoever he should by any occasion be provoked thereunto, he would give us warning, after such honourable sort as appertaineth. But for the present, he said, he was so far from any such meaning, as he desired the continuance of the amity with the king's majesty, as much as with any prince Christian; affirming, that he would omit no occasion that might conduce therunto, and to the good encrease of the same. And hereupon ensued the appointing of commissioners on both sides, for the considering and appeasing of all things in controversy; and to entreat of some good means of agreement betwixt both parties. Which promise of sending commissioners depending, and the commissioners named on both sides, with the matters whereof they should treat, all the former fair words notwithstanding, the French king having suddenly set forth an army to the sea, and with the same attempted the annoyance and invasion of the king's majesty's isles of Jersey and Garnsey, to the utmost of their power, and having taken an island there, (taking advantage of the young years of the king's majesty, and some seditions and tumults in the realm,) is presently descended in person towards his highness confines with an army royal by land; and, as it were with the sword in his hand, hath at last revoked his ambassadors, and opened the wars.

p. 166.

"These things we have thought good to open unto you the more fully, because we know the French, how false soever their doings be, will not let to colour the same, and seem to put the fault and occasion of this breach in us: requiring you at the time of the delivery of the king's majesty's letters, which ye shall receive herewith, to the emperor, not only to declare the premisses unto him, but also to shew him, that as the king's majesty is forced, for defence of his dominions and subjects, and preservation of his honour, to enter upon wars now against France, and to take them for enemies; so he hath willed you to declare

the same unto him: nothing doubting his highness shall find at his hands, whensoever any occasion shall so require, all that friendship and aid, that the treaties and old antient amity requireth. And thus we bid you well to fare, 13 Aug. 1549."

CHAP. XXI.

Insurrections of the commons upon inclosures. Proclamations and commissions thereupon. The rebellion in Norfolk. Ket, the captain. Lady Mary touched. First institution of lords lieutenants of the counties.

THE commons began now to grow malecontent, and to go apart into conspiracies, and betake themselves to arms, the priests and popish zealots blowing the coals. The first insurrection appeared in Hertfordshire, for the commons at North-Hall and Chesthunt. After this, a greater rising appeared in Somersetshire. From Somersetshire it proceeded into Gloucestershire, Wilts, Hampshire, Sussex, Surrey, Worcester, Essex, Kent, and divers other places, as Oxon and Berks, and in the westernmost parts, and in the northern also, as in Yorkshire, and especially in Norfolk. The causes of these disturbances were divers and sundry. Some were papists, and required the restoration of their old religion; some were anabaptists and libertines, and would have all things common; and a third sort of these mutineers were certain poor men that sought to have their commons again, by force and power taken from them; and that a regulation might be made according to law of arable lands turned into pasture; and desired a redress of the great dearth and abatement of the price of victuals. And some about the Lady Mary were not innocent; which occasioned some letters between her and the lord protector, concerning some of her servants, charged to be privy to the rebellion: of which we shall hear more by and by.

1549.

The places
of the ri-
sings, and
causes
thereof.

1549.
p. 167.
The dearth
God's
hand, not
man's.

And yet in truth, the dearth, as was suggested, was more God's hand than man's: for victuals were extremely dear in foreign parts, as well as in England; and Sir William Paget, being now abroad in embassy in France, protested to the protector, that he then spent twice as much as he did at his last being in the same place, and yet kept no greater retinue. And as for inclosures, they were not now newly begun, but threescore years before, pastures were inclosed: and they and their fathers hitherto had lived quietly under them, as the said Paget wrote to the protector. But Paget indeed was a favourer of these inclosures, and it is likely was one himself. These were great graziers and sheep-masters, that ceased tilling the ground and sowing of corn: pulling down houses, and destroying whole towns, that so they might have the more land for grazing, and the less charge of poor tenants, who had dependance on them, as their plowmen and husbandmen; whereby the poor countrymen being driven to great poverty, began thus to shew their discontents.

Lightmade
of these
stirs at
first.

How little at first the council made of these popular commotions, may appear by the account they gave to the said Paget, to whom thus they wrote concerning it: "Where some light persons before your departing had solicited some others like themselves, and a multitude of simple persons, to assemble themselves, for plucking down of pales and inclosures, and such like matters; you shall understand, that sithence your departing hence the like stirs have been renewed in Essex, Kent, Hampshire and Devonshire; whereof part be already quietly appeased, and the rest in towardness also to return peaceably to their houses; so as there is no likelihood of any great matter to ensue therof. And yet having experience how slanderously these small tumults shall be divulged and spread by the French men, we have thought good to advertise you by these and other letters, of the full truth of these matters. Upon knowledge whereof you may answer their untrue and vain bruits, as you

shall think good." But how little soever the thing were dreaded now, it proved of more dangerous consequence in the process of the year. 1549.

For it was not long after, that the king and his council having more and more jealousies of this, to ripen into a formidable rising, laboured at first what they could to restrain and smother it before it brake out further; and that by all gentle means, as by appointing commissioners to ease the grievance of inclosures, and by giving pardon by proclamation to routs and uproars raised about in the countries, and by taking order for abating the excessive prices of provisions, as was shewn before. Means used to quell the insurrections.

Yet some there were that did not approve this way of proceeding with the discontented mutinous people, neither would have them so gratified, having broken the peace, and raised tumults, as they had done: and judged it far better policy, that they should have first been made examples, and more rigors used towards them: which might have terrified others, and been a means of preventing those insurrections that happened in other parts soon after. Of this mind was Sir William Paget, a man of an austerer temper; who, soon after these pardons were granted, and the prices of victuals moderated, thus wrote to the protector: Censured by some as too mild courses.

"He wished to God, that at the first stir, he (the protector) had caused justice to have been ministred in solemn fashion, to the terror of others: and then to have granted a pardon. But to have granted pardons out of course did as much good, he said, to the purpose the protector meant, as the Bishop of Rome's pardons were wont to do; which rather upon hopes of a pardon gave men occasion and courage to sin, than to amend their faults. And so have your pardons, added he, given evil men a boldness to enterprize as they do, and caused them to think you dare not meddle with them. Victuals, they say, wool, cloth, and every thing is dear. They must have a new price at their pleasure. The commons must be pleased, you must take pity upon the poor men's

p. 168.

1549. children," &c. Thus were these milder courses of the protector censured.

The lord
privy seal
goes down
to the
West.

Licences
for preach-
ers in the
West.

But besides this, the Lord Russel, lord privy seal, having the government of the West, was sent down thither to watch these dangerous motions. And care was taken to provide some able men to preach good doctrine and obedience to the people, and to inform them aright of the king's proceedings, and to rectify the ignorant sort, who were misled into these dangerous courses by their popish guides: for the king's council thought preaching a good expedient to quell these stirs, as well as force, and that sober exhortations grounded upon God's word, which they had been little acquainted withal, would tend much to incline the people to obedience, and to keep them in their duty towards their prince. Wherefore licences were now again given out from the privy council to certain preachers; authorizing them to preach and teach from place to place, in such auditories and congregations as the lord privy seal should appoint them, and where he conceived most need. And for this they had salaries paid them by the council. Accordingly I find a licence sent to one Gregory, which ran in this tenour following:

A licence.
MSS. G.P.
Armig.

"After our harty commendations. Forasmuch as it is acceptable to God to have the people lead their lives in the fear and knowledge of him; and thereupon also followeth, as by good order, quiet and due obedience of all people to their princes and heads: the which no wise so conveniently can be brought to pass, as to have frequent and discreet preaching of the holy word and commandments: we have thought it meet, since our very good lord, the lord privy seal, is appointed under the king's majesty to have the governance of the west parts of the realm, during his majesty's pleasure, that they should both be licenced and commanded by us on the king's majesty's behalf, to preach and openly declare with sincerity the word of God, in such publick place and auditory, as the same lord privy seal shall sollicite you, whose dis-

cretion and grave wisdom the king's majesty and we so well esteem, that without his order and certain knowledge, we will ye take no labour upon you. And for your diligence and study herein, although the same be your duty, and of God prescribed, yet we will have it in good remembrance, and reward it to your contentation. And so we bid you farewell from Richmond, 23 June, 1549.

Your loving friends," &c.

It was signed by the Duke of Somerset, L. Rich, chancellor, Francis Earl of Shrewsbury, L. St. John's, Earl of Arundel, Sir Ant. Wingfield, Edward Lord Mountague.

Another letter, varying in the words, but of the same import, was at the same time, and by the same counsellors, sent to Dr. Raynolds, to preach in those parts, according to the appointment of the lord privy seal. Miles Coverdale was now also here employed in the said function, and particularly made the thanksgiving sermon after the victory.

The king and council used also other means to break and disperse these hurly-burlies. There was now a sort of lewd idle fellows, the most part whereof had neither place to inhabit, nor sought any stay to live by; persons, many of them condemned of felony, or prison-breakers, run from the wars, and sea-rovers, departed from the king's garrisons, and loiterers: these persons ran from place to place, from county to county, from town to town, to stir up rumours, raise up tales, imagine news, whereby to stir and gather together the king's subjects, of simplicity and ignorance deceived; and by that pretence such lewd ruffians and unruly vagabonds became ringleaders and masters of the king's people; seeking to spoil, rob and ravin, where or whom they listed, or might: and so lived, waxed rich, and fed on other men's labour, money and food. And when the poor of one part of the country raised up by these felons, repented and saw their folly, acknowledged their faults, and returned themselves to

1549.

p. 169.

Ruffians
kindle dis-
turbances
in the
kingdom.

1549. their duty, and received the king's pardon; the said runnagates escaped from the places of their first attempts, and daily resorted to new places; and so from place to place, shire to shire, never quieting themselves, but devising slanderous tales, and divulging to the people such kind of news as they thought might most readily move them to uproars and tumults; and pretending the same time they sought the redress of the commonwealth. The king sent a proclamation after these, dated July 8, charging all justices, sheriffs, bailiffs, and other his officers, to be diligent to take some good special order for the apprehension and attaching of such persons, whether as vagabonds, wayfaring men, stragglers or otherwise: and that whosoever should discover any of them, should have the king's hearty thanks, and 20 crowns for a reward.

The rebellion breaks out.

But notwithstanding these means used for prevention, a rebellion broke out in the West, in July, which cost the king and his council much work, and the protector particularly many fears and cares.

The protector blamed about it.

For upon a pardon, that had been indulgently granted to these mutineers, they came so easily by it, that they soon ran into disturbances again. Upon this the protector, (whose doing this was,) for his too easy forgiveness of such criminals, was blamed generally by the council, who were against that pardon, and were for making some examples first, and publishing a pardon for the rest after. This the protector's friend, Sir William Paget, did declare to him his disapprobation of. He advised him, by his letter, that the rebellion being now up, he should do all things like a king, governing for a king, during his imperfect age: that he should send for all the council that remained unsent abroad, and six other of the gravest and most experienced men in the realm, and consult what was best to be done. His own opinion was, to send for the Almain horse from Calais, which were about 4000 brave accoutred men: to appoint the Lord Ferrers and Sir William Herbert, to bring as many horsemen out of Wales as they dared trust; that the

Paget's advice to him how to proceed against the rebels.

1549.
p. 170.

Earl of Shrewsbury should bring the like out of the counties of Derby, Salop, Stafford, and Nottingham, of his servants, keepers of forests and parks; and that he, the protector, should send for all his trusty servants to come to him. Then, that he should appoint the king to lie at Windsor, accompanied with all his officers and servants of the household, the pensioners, the men at arms, and the guard: then, that he should go himself in person, attended with the Almain horse, and all the rest which were sent for, first, into Berkshire; commanding all the gentlemen to attend upon him by such a day, at such a place, with what friends and servants they could make. That the chief justices, with some of the judges, should resort with commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, to the town next to the place where the protector should remain: that there should be also certain justices of the peace of the same shire attending; to whom he should give order to attach him and him, to the number of twenty or thirty of the rankest knaves of the shire, and to hang six of the ripest of them in sundry places; the rest to remain in prison: that the justices should take sureties of the good abearing of the richer sort concerned herein, and for their appearance in the star-chamber the next term. That the horsemen should lie in such towns as were busiest, taking enough for their money, that the rebels might feel the smart of their villany. To take away the freedom of some of the offending towns, which he might restore again at his pleasure; and to send some of the doers away from their wives to the North, or to Boloign, to be soldiers or pioneers: to give them no good words, and to make no promise in any wise. And thus, from one shire to another, to make a progress, till he had visited all the shires that offended since their pardons. Thus did Paget advise. In the mean time the protector and council issued out divers proclamations, relating to the present emergence.

And first of all, a proclamation, dated July 11, for the punishment of the rebels in Devonshire and Corn-

1549.
Proclama-
tions occa-
sioned
thereby.

Rebels
estates
given away

None par-
doned to
be molest-
ed.

p. 171.

wall. The import of which was, that whosoever came not in within so many days, and submitted and yielded themselves unto the Lord Russel, the king's lieutenant in those parts, should be deemed, accepted and taken for rebels and traitors. And for the more terror to those who stood out rebelliously, and for the encouragement and advancement of his loving and obedient subjects, that should withdraw themselves from the said rebellious traitors, the king was contented that all and singular the forfeitures of all the goods, chattels, offices, pensions, manors, lands, tenements, farms, copyholds, and other hereditaments of the said rebels and traitors, should grow, come and be, unto all and every such person and persons as should first have, take, possess and attain the said goods and chattels, or should first enter into the said manors, lands, tenements, &c.; and the same should have, hold, possess and enjoy to his and their own proper use, commodity and behalf, in as large and ample manner as the king, by mean and right of the said forfeiture and confiscation, ought and might dispose of the same; and should have assurance thereof by his letters patents.

The day after, viz. July 12, came forth another proclamation, concerning the effect of the king's pardon given to the rebels. In this he willed and commanded all his subjects, who of late by their humble submission and sorrowful repentance of their offences committed in sundry unlawful and riotous assemblies, obtained his pardon, that from henceforth they be of such good behaviour in the peace of God and the king's majesty, and in all their actions and deeds so quiet, peaceable and well ordered, that the king's majesty might think his grace and pardon bestowed upon them with effect. And his majesty willed and commanded all his other subjects, having suffered any manner of grief, damage or loss, by the act of any the abovesaid king's subjects, while they offended, and before they received his pardon, that they should not by act, suit, violence or compulsion, force, punish, avenge

or correct any manner of offence or trespass committed by the aforesaid offenders, having been pardoned for the same. 1549.

Another proclamation followed, July 16, wherein the king prohibited any of his subjects, that neither by drum, tabret, pipe, or any other instrument striking or sounding, bell or bells ringing, opening, crying, posting, riding, running, or by any news, rumours or tales divulging or spreading, or by any other device or token whatsoever (which had been the rebels' practices) to call together or muster, or attempt to assemble or muster any number of people; either to pluck down any hedge, pale, fence, wall, or any manner of inclosures, or to hunt, waste, spoil, desolate, or deface any park, chase, warren, house, lodge, pond, waters; or do any other unlawful act, which is forbidden; or to redress any thing, which should or might be by the king's majesty's commission reformed, redressed or amended. And that upon pain of death presently to be executed by the authority and order of law martial; wherein no delay or deferring of time should be permitted, as in other causes, being indeed of less importance. And therefore the king commanded all sheriffs, justices, ministers and officers, upon knowledge of any offender against the tenor of this proclamation, forthwith, with all expedition, and with such power as should be requisite, to apprehend and attach the same offenders, and them to commit to safe jail; and thereupon indelayedly to certify the lord protector and the council, to the intent most speedy order may be given for the execution of the said offenders. For execution of law martial.

About this time, for the redress of unlawful inclosures, and such like enormities, the king had directed several commissions, with large instructions for the same, into every county; not only authorizing his commissioners to reform all manner of things, so far forth as the laws could any wise be construed or expounded, but also by special letters missive, he charged the same commissioners upon Commissioners for inclosures.

1549. great pain, in the same letters contained, to redress and amend their own proper faults. Which commissions were partly put in execution, while the rising in the West happened, and partly ready to be executed, and delayed only by the folly of the people, seeking their own redress unlawfully: and of this information was given in the aforesaid proclamation.

The gentry
and nobi-
lity dis-
gusted at
it.

p. 172.

And here let us digress for a while, and consider these commissions. The gentlemen concerned in these inclosures were highly offended, when the king and his council had sent forth commissioners for examining inclosures, whereby poor men's commons and livings were thus taken away. They pretended that these things were innovations; and that no alterations ought to be made: and they took great offence against those that put the king and protector upon these proceedings; and particularly this charge they laid to John Hales, clerk of the hanaper, a good and public-spirited man, and one of these commissioners; him they accused to have sued out the commission. They urged, that now it was no time to send forth such commissions. That Hales had stirred and encouraged the commonalty against the nobility; and in fine, made him guilty of the present sedition; and that he procured them to be redressers of their own injuries, and to be executors of the law, and to repine and grudge at the nobility, and that he would have *Liberty, liberty*; and now it was come to a licentious liberty, as they said.

Their ways
to evade it.

These inclosers used all the means they could to stop and hinder the coming forth of this commission: but when they could not do that, they laboured to invalidate, and make it fail of the good ends intended by it. Some of them got means for their servants to be sworn of the juries, that they might be more favourable to them; and in some parts where the commissioners went, such were the numbers of retainers to the great men (who were the chief inclosers) that it was not possible to make juries without them: some were threatened to be put by their holds, if

they presented; and others had no certainty of their holds, which were wont to be let by copy for lives, or otherwise for years; so that their landlords might have them upon the hank, at no time, nor in any thing, to offend them: and some were indicted, because they presented the truth: and many shameful slights were used to blind the commissioners and the presenters, and to baffle the good work they were upon. But notwithstanding these ways and courses to stifle the presentments, yet many things were presented. But the commissioners were so favourable to those that were presented, that they made the parties privy thereunto, to hear if they could justly purge themselves. The commission extended only to inquire, not to hear and determine. And it was chiefly set forth, that the protector and council might know in part the whole state of the realm; and so to proceed to the redress of all.

John Hales, after he had sat upon the commission, prayed the king, that a general pardon might be sent out: which he sued for, and obtained for the benefit of the rich inclosers as well as the poor sufferers; hoping the rich would have reformed their doings, as the poor men did. But some of these rich men, as soon as they had their pardon, returned to their old practice, and began immediately to inclose, and to take away the poor men's commons, and became more greedy than ever they were before; looking upon this commission but as a storm for a time, that would soon pass over.

Yet another proclamation was occasioned by this tumult, namely, for the office of constables, dated July 22, who were too forward themselves in this rebellion: that whereas the office of constables, bailiffs or headboroughs, was most politicly ordained, as well to be the stay in every city, town or village, of quiet and peace, according to the king's majesty's laws, as also to put in execution whatsoever by the said laws, or the higher ministers of the same should be appointed and limited; contrary to which the bailiffs, con-

1549.

The offenders herein pardoned.

A commandment for constables.

1549. stables or headboroughs, in the places where these risings were, had been the very ringleaders and procurers, by their example and exhortation, to the rest
 p. 173. of their neighbours, to levy themselves (as they had done) in his majesty's name; abusing the authority of the same, contrary to their duty of allegiance: the king therefore commanded, that they henceforth forbore and abstained from raising and assembling of any the king's subjects, for any act or purpose, other than such as by the law and statutes of the realm is limited for them to execute and do, as incident to their office; under pain to be deemed, accepted or taken, as traitors, and suffer loss of life, lands and goods for ever.

Plays for-
bid.

To these let me subjoin one proclamation more, and as it seems relating to these tumults; it came forth August 6, for stopping of players to act any play or interlude. The preface assigned the reason, viz. that such players within the city of London, as well as elsewhere, did for the most part play such interludes as contained matter tending to sedition, and contemning of sundry good orders and laws, whereupon were grown such disquiet, divisions, tumults and uproars in the realm.

The bells
in Devon
and Corn-
wall to be
taken
down.

When this rebellion was pretty well allayed, it was remembered how the bells in the churches served, by ringing, to summon and call in the disaffected unto their arms. Therefore, in September, an order was sent down from the council to the Lord Russel, to execute a work that proved, no doubt, highly disgusting unto the people, viz. to take away all the bells in Devonshire and Cornwall, leaving one only in each steeple, which was to call the people to church: and this partly to prevent the like insurrection for the future, and partly to help to defray the charges the king had been at among them. And thus the lord protector and council writ to the lord privy seal in this matter, viz.

The coun-
cil's letter.
MSS. G.P.
Armig.

"After our harty commendations to your lordship. Where the rebels of the country of Devonshire and Cornwel have used the bells in every parish as an in-

strument to stir the multitude, and call them together, thinking good to have this occasion of attempting the like hereafter to be taken from them, and remembring withal, that by taking down of them, the king's majesty may have some commodity towards his great charge that way: We have thought good to pray your good lordship to give order for the taking down the said bells in all the churches within those two counties, leaving in every church one bell, the least of the ring that now is in the same, which may serve to call the parishioners together to the sermons and divine service. In the doing whereof, we require your lordship to use such moderation, as the same may be done with as much quietness, and as little offence of the common people, as may be. And thus we bid your lordship most hartily farewell. From Westminster, 12 Sept. 1549.

Your good lordship's assured loving friends,

*E. Somerset, W. Paget, E. Wotton,
T. Cant, W. Petre, R. Sadlier."
W. S. John, Ed. North,*

Two gentlemen of those parts, Champion and Chichester, assistant perhaps against the rebels, took this opportunity to get themselves rewarded, by begging, not the bells, but the bell-clappers only; which was granted them, with the ironwork and furniture thereunto belonging: and no question they made good benefit thereof.

The clappers granted away.
p. 174.

And as this rebellion in the West was now put to a conclusion, so also was that in Norfolk about the same time dispersed, Robert Ket, the chief captain of the rebels, being taken and executed. This man, though said to be a tanner, was wealthy and well landed: for I find these several manors to have belonged to him, and forfeited to the king, viz. the manor of Melior's Hall, the manors of Lether's Hall, and Gunvil's manor, in the county of Norfolk, which, in King Edward's Book of Sales, is said to be parcel of the possessions of Robert Ket, lately attainted of

The rebellion in Norfolk appeased. Ket, the chief rebel, his possessions.

1549. high treason. These, with several other lands, tenements, and hereditaments, in Norfolk, and all his goods and chattels, worth 40 marks, were given to Thomas Audely, for and in consideration of his good service against the rebels in Norfolk. The patent bore date, May 16, *an. 4 reg. Edwardi.*

Ket's treasons.

This Ket was a proper person to be a ringleader of mischief: for he was of a bold, haughty spirit, and of a cankered mind against the government. He would be stiled the *Master*, nay, the *King* of Norfolk and Suffolk: he forced all persons whatsoever to follow his camp, and laid many in chains that made any opposition; a great waster and spoiler, especially to the women of quality, whom he spared not to rob and spoil.

Lord Sheffield slain.

The Marquis of Nottingham first went against him, but was unsuccessful in a battle fought with these rebels in Norwich; where, among others, fell a brave nobleman, Edmund Lord Sheffield, who voluntarily, and with considerable expence, went along with the marquis: which lord, falling from his horse, was knocked on the head by a butcher. He left a son under age, named John Lord Sheffield, being a ward to the king; who, to shew some particular mark of his favour upon him for his father's merits, granted him by patent, dated in November, 1550, to bestow himself in marriage, at his own free election and choice, without any fine or payment to be required in the Court of Wards and Liveries, or elsewhere, to the king's use, for the value of his marriage, being in his minority; in consideration (as it ran in the grant) of the great charges that his said father sustained in the king's war at Norwich.

The king intends to send Somerset, his general.

The king then intended to send his uncle, the Duke of Somerset, with a strong army into Norfolk, which was to rendezvous at Walden, in Essex: for there the gentry of that county were appointed, with their men and arms, to meet the said duke, on the 17th day of August. And such an order one of the gentlemen of the said county received (by which we may judge of

the rest), which was as followeth. (And I the rather
exemplify it, because therein is some account given
of Ket and his doings.) 1549.

“ EDWARD,

“ Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And
whereas one Ket, a tanner, supported by a great many
of vile and idle persons, hath taken upon him our
royal power and dignity, and calleth himself Master
and King of Norfolk and Suffolk, in derogation of our
imperial crown and majesty; and not content to per-
swade our subjects, whom we were content to receive
to our mercy, to refuse our most gracious pardon, but
causeth also a great number of our honest and good
subjects by force to follow and aid him; and so con-
tinueth the rebellion in most vile sort, killing, spoil-
ing, and keeping in fetters and chains, gentlemen,
serving-men, yeomen, farmers, and other honest men,
who have regard of their faith and duty unto us; rob-
bing ladies and widows' houses, seeking nothing but
spoil and subversion of us, and the good estate of the
realm: We have appointed our most intirely beloved
uncle, the Duke of Somerset, Governour of our Per-
son, and Protector of our Realms, Dominion, and
Subjects, with an army royal, to go against them, and,
by God's help, to subdue them, to the terror of all
others; whom, like as we have appointed to march
forwards with all speed possible, so having reposed a
special trust and confidence in your good towardness
and readiness to serve us, we have appointed you to
give your attendance upon our said uncle; and there-
fore do will and require you, immediately upon the
sight hereof, with all speed to put yourself in a readi-
ness with an hundred hable men, or so many mo as
you are hable to make and trust unto, of your servants,
tenants, and friends, well furnished with armour and
weapon: wherof so many to be demilances, or light
horsemen, as ye can furnish with hable and good
horses, and other convenient furniture, to be at our
town of Walden, in our county of Essex, the 17 day

The king's
letter to
the gentry
of Essex.
Vespasian,
F. 3.

p. 175.

1549. of this present month at the furthest; at which time and place order shall be given for the bringing of them thither to your contentation. Requiring you not to fail, as ye tender our pleasure, and will answer for the contrary at your perils. Yeaven under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the 6th of August, the third year of our reign.

E. SOMERSET."

But the king's resolution soon changed, perhaps being loth to part with his uncle; and the Earl of Warwick was dispatched in his room.

One hang-
ed unjustly
by martial
law.

Stow's Sur-
vey.

Upon occasion of this tumult, somewhat a severe execution happened to the Bailiff of Rumford, in Essex, who, chancing to come to London just upon the noise of it, when one Sir Stephen, a curate of Cree-Church, meeting him, and asking him what news out of the country? the other replied, that they were up in arms in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex; yet adding, that *thanks to God, they were all quiet about their parts*: a suspicion these words of his begat, that he was privy to these mutinies. Sir Stephen, a zealous man, informs against him; and immediately by a court-martial he was tried, and condemned to be hanged: and so he was, upon a gibbet by the well within Aldgate, which was afterwards turned to a pump, there still remaining. Though upon the ladder he professed he was no farther guilty than those bare words could make him.

The gen-
tlemen of
Essex, Suf-
folk, and
Norfolk,
to repair
home.

p. 176.

But to speak a little more particularly of this stir in Norfolk, which seemed as troublesome to the state to provide against and to quell, as that in the West: therefore the Earl of Warwick was sent against them, and the gentry in the three counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, were required to go down to their several dwellings by a proclamation, dated Aug. 16, which ran to this tenor: "That the king's majesty, by the advice of his most intirely beloved uncle, &c. straitly charged and commanded all gentlemen, of what estate, degree, or condition soever they were,

who had their habitations and dwellings in Essex, to depart from the court, the City of London, and other places near unto them, into their several habitations in the said county, with all convenient speed, there to remain till they should know further of the king's majesties pleasure. Likewise such gentlemen as dwelt in Suffolk, to depart also to their habitations there; and there to remain unto such time as they should have command from the king, or the earl of Warwick. And further, that all gentlemen, inhabitants of Norfolk, should repair to the said Earl; to be with him, to attend upon him in the king's army in his conduct and leading, for his highnesses better service, upon Saturday next following, or Sunday at the farthest. And his majesty, by the advice aforesaid, did most strictly charge all persons to whom it might appertain, to follow and execute the earl's commands, with all convenient speed and diligence, upon pain of his highnesses indignation and displeasure. Yet provided, that such gentlemen as were of the king's chamber or household should still give their attendance upon his highness as heretofore." 1549.

A great appearance of these rebellious Norfolcians were got together near Lyn: but the magistrates and people of that town did not side with them, but kept themselves loyal to the king. One of this seditious rout was Sir John Chaundeler, parson of Alswiththorp, a parish near Lyn. Another was called Captain Bunting, who, it seems, mistrusting his doings, was resolved to get away secretly into Lyn; and, to do it so obscurely that none should know it, or suspect he was gone thither, he took his opportunity, and laid his hat down by a well-side, to make the rest of his comrades think that he was drowned there. And so they did. Lyn loyal.

And he at the same time fled into Lyn; at whose coming those in the town shot off a volley. But Chaundeler was truer to the cause, and seemed to have been a person employed by the rout to pass from place to place, in the counties of Essex and Colchester. Chaundeler, one of the rebels, comes to Colchester.

1549. Suffolk, to blow the coals, and to excite the people in those counties to rise: for in the midst of these broils he rode to Bury, and Hadley, and Lavenham, and came to Colchester, where he met with several of that city, his confidants as it seemed, who were to promote the cause there, namely, Will. Brown, draper and tailor; Sir Roger Peerson, of Colchester, priest; Sir John Robynson, priest, parson of Tadston, in Suffolk; Richard Kent, of Sturton, in Suffolk, weaver. These were all at supper together at Brown's house, where Chaundeler did relate how things stood with the rebels; and to provoke them the more against the government, he told them, how there had been six posts sent from their camp unto the king's council, and not one of them could come to the said council; and that the gentlemen's servants at Lyn went abroad and killed poor men in their harvest-work, and also killed women with child. And, to encourage them to enter into the conjuration, he said, that the number of their men at Norwich camp was sixscore thousand; and that he met at Bury to the number, as he thought, of seventy thousand, consisting of the towns of Bury, Hadly, Lanham, Branthly (Branktree, perhaps) and other towns thereabouts. And as for the town of Lyn, and all the gentlemen there, he wished them all on fire; and whereas there was one man among them, he wished there were ten. And all this was deposed against Chaundeler afterwards, Aug. 7, by Brown and others, that supped with him then at Colchester, before Benjamin Clere and Robert Flyngant, bailiffs of Colchester.

Pardons to
the three
counties.

After these dangerous tumults were dispersed and vanquished, and the heads punished, the king granted a special pardon to the inhabitants of Norfolk for the rebellion there, which bore date Sept. 4. And the like was bestowed upon the inhabitants of Suffolk and Essex.

The Lady
Mary and
her ser-
vants
charged.

These rebellions touched upon the Lady Mary's reputation: for the lord protector and council had information brought them, that several of her servants

were chief stirrers, procurers, and doers in those com-
 motions; as namely, a priest and chaplain of her's of
 Sampford Courtney, in Devon; and Pooly, one of
 her receivers; and one Lyonel. Concerning these
 reports, they thought fit to send her word by letter,
 dated July 17, wherein they likewise charged her, to
 give countenance herself to these disturbances, by her
 obstinate incomppliance with the religion, and per-
 sistance in the use of the old mass. She was now at
 her house at Kenninghal, in High Suffolk, not far off
 of the rebels, which might give some umbrage to these
 jealousies against her. But she presently vindicated
 herself and her servants, and declared her dislike of
 these practices, by an earnest letter, writ July 20, be-
 ing the same day she received the council's. For first,
 as to her servants, she shewed, "How she had not
 one chaplain in those parts; that Pooly remained
 continually in her house, and was never doer among
 the commons, nor came into their company. 'Tis
 true, she had another servant of that name dwelling
 in Suffolk, and whether the commons had taken him
 or no, she could not tell; but by report they had
 taken by force many gentlemen in those quarters, and
 used them very cruelly, and perhaps so he might be
 served. That as for the third, she could not but
 mervail at the bruit of him, especially because he
 dwelt within two miles of London, and was not ac-
 quainted with the shires of Suffolk or Norfolk, nor
 at any time came into those parts, but when he waited
 upon her at her house, and was then at London about
 her business; being also a man not at all apt or
 meet for such purposes, but given to as much quiet-
 ness as any within her house. She added, it troubled
 her to hear such reports of any of her's, and especially
 where no cause was given: trusting, that her hous-
 hold should try themselves true subjects to the king's
 majesty, and honest, quiet persons, or else she would
 be loth.

"And as for her self, she assured the protector,
 that these stirs did not less offend her than him, and

1549.

E. MSS.
 Rev. Patr.
 D. Johan.
 Episcop.
 Elien.

1549. the rest of the council. And for Devonshire, no indifferent person could lay their doings to her charge, for she had neither land nor acquaintance in that country. And wheras they charged her, that her proceedings in matters of religion should have given no small courage to many of those men to require and to do as they did: that, she said, appeared to be most untrue, for that all the rising about the parts where she was, was touching no part of religion. But even as they ungently and without desert charged her, so she omitted so fully to answer it as the cause required, and would pray God that their new alterations, and unlawful liberties, were not rather the occasions of these assemblies than her doings, who was, God she took to witness, inquired therewith."

p. 178.

State letters relating to this rebellion. Galba, B. 12.

DD. EE.
FF.

The charges of this rebellion. Otho, E. 11.

Besides all this that I have already writ on this subject, I reckon it will not be unworthy any man's pains, that is studious of the history of these times, to read three letters concerning these intestine disturbances. The one written from the lord privy seal to the lords of the council, and by his son, Sir Francis Russel, brought to them, Aug. 22. Another, writ Aug. 24, from the protector to Hoby, ambassador abroad. The third, from the same to the same, dated Sept. 1. For these consult the Repository: taken from the Cotton Library.

But this rebellion in Norfolk, in Devon, and Cornwall, cost the king a vast sum, which rendered him the more necessitous of money all the time of his reign after. The charges are set down in one of the Cotton volumes, viz.

For coat and conduct	£6,446	12	2
In debts and wages	18,827	19	6
Emptions of necessaries	47	11	8
Divers and sundry necessary charges and expences; as, breaking down of bridges, carriages, and rewards . . .	2,800	4	3
Sum Total	£28,122	7	7

But the whole charges of King Edward's wars and fortifications, to the year 1549, amounted to £1,356,687. 18. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$. 1549.

This year began the making of the lord lieutenants of the counties, whose commissions bare date July 24, 3 Ed. VI. as I find it in a clerk of the crown's book in the Cotton Library; whose office undoubtedly was first instituted upon occasion of these routs and up-roars, in most of the counties of England. They were called the king's justices in their commissions, as well as his lieutenants; which commissions ran to enquire of all treasons, misprisions of treason, insurrections, rebellions, unlawful assemblies and conventicles, unlawful speaking of words, confederacies, conspiracies, false allegations, contempts, falsehoods, negligences, concealments, oppressions, riots, routs, murders, felonies, and other ill deeds whatsoever, and also all accessaries of the same; and to appoint certain days and places for the enquiry thereof; and to be the king's lieutenants within the respective counties for levying of men, and to fight against the king's enemies and rebels, and to execute upon them martial law; and to subdue all invasions, insurrections, &c. These commissions were renewed yearly.

First institution of lord lieutenants of the shires.

CHAP. XXII.

p. 179.

The French's success against the English in Boloignois. Execution of the rebels. Somerset's troubles. The causes thereof. His Court of Requests. A sessions of parliament. The acts.

THESE at length were the successes against the seditions at home; but from the other side of the seas came not so good news. For the French king, taking now his time, and laying hold of this rebellion within the realm, came in August unto Boloignois with a great number of horse and foot, himself in person; and on the 24th of the said month the Almain Camp, or Almain Hill, a piece appertaining

A piece near New-haven lost to the French.

1549. to Ambleture or Newhaven, was delivered to the French by traitorous consent of the captain of the camp there, variance falling or feigned, between the captain and his soldiers. So that now they were besieged very near, and in manner round. Howbeit the English at this very time wrote thence to the king and council, that they trusted the piece itself (viz. Newhaven) would be well enough defended, God assisting them, who were in as good and stout a courage as any men might be, and as desirous to win honour, and give a good account of their charge.

Newhaven
itself lost.

But soon after, by treachery, the main fort of Newhaven was also lost, and another strong place called Blackness; and the French proceeded to lay siege to Boloign itself. And all this loss caused by the mutinies at home; the suppressing of which hindered the sending sufficient aid thither. This the protector unfolded to Hoby the ambassador with the emperor, in his letter dated Sept. 1, in these words:

The pro-
tector to
Hoby, giv-
ing a rela-
tion there-
of.

“ We cannot omit to advertise you, that the French king, by means of this dangerous business at home, hath taken courage to invade the king's majesty's possessions on the other side of the seas. And albeit it was so foreseen, as order was taken for his encountring in the field, yet the outrageousness of the people was such within ourselves, as attending first to the pacifying things at home as reason required, we could not in time provide for things abroad; which the French king perceiving, and having before corrupted two of the king's majesty's ministers, taking also advantage of our seditions and tumults at home, descended in person with an army royal, and by treason of the captain and master governour of a little fortress, which stood upon a hill, named The Almain Camp, near the main fort of Newhaven, and was a key to the same, abandoned it. After the getting wherof by means of the same, and of such secret intelligence as they had with the said traitors, did after in short time win the main fort of Newhaven; which by these corrupt

and false means they now possess; and beside the fort of Newhaven, one other small piece of his majesty's, named Blackness, and mindeth to do the uttermost he may against Boloign. And because we doubt not but the French men, according to their accustomed fashion, will brave much of this their sudden enterprize, though it be not great, we have thought good to write the whole of these matters unto you, to be used as ye shall see cause. And considering, how dishonourably the French king hath begun these wars, whereof we have more at large heretofore written unto you, we trust in the end he shall have small cause to boast himself of any gain."

1549.

p. 180.

We leave the French besieging Boloign: which nevertheless with all their strength they were not able to prevail against, so bravely did the English acquit themselves, till afterwards it was delivered up for money; the keeping whereof being not thought worth the expence. And turn we again to home matters.

The heads and captains of the rebellion in the West were, some few of them, gentlemen inflamed with an ignorant zeal to the old religion, but the most of them the dregs of the people, and not a few of them priests. But these, or most of them, when their heards, by the valour and conduct of the Lord Russel, were routed, suffered the pains of death. Their names were Arundel, Pomeroy, Coffin, Winslade, Rosogan, Holmes, Bury, Underhil, Soleman, Segar, Boyer, Lee, two mayors, Pain, Maunder, Ashridge, Thompson, Baret, Bocham, Wolcock, Alsa, Morton, Welsh, Barrow, Benet. Which last-recited nine were priests. There was another which our histories make no mention of, named Paget, whether he was captain, or some other great assistant in this disobedience; who as it seems might be related unto Sir William Paget. Upon which account, or some other reason, the lord privy seal was not so forward to put him to death. But being a person of such note in these broils, the protector and the lords sent down a particular letter for his execution. And execution

The chief-
tains of the
rebellion in
the West.Paget one
of them.

1549. being still deferred, it was seconded with another from the protector alone; and that because people began to clamour against him, as though he were the cause of the delay of it, and that it reflected upon his honour, as though he were not now such an impartial distributor of justice upon malefactors as he was before, now to wink at Paget, when formerly he had consented to the death even of his own brother. But I must crave leave to insert his letter.

The protector to the Lord Russel for execution of Paget. MSS. G.P. Armig.

“After our very harty commendations unto your good lordship: wheras we with divers others of the king’s majesty’s council heretofore addressed our letters to you for due execution to be don, and had upon Paget for his worthy deserts; which as we be informed is not don, but respected (respited) upon what occasion we know not, whereat we cannot a little mervail, the thing so much touching our honour; for, as we have been credibly informed, divers have not left unspoken, that we should consent to the death of our own brother, and now would wink at him! Wherefore we hartily pray you, as you tender our honour, to see him suffer that he hath deserved, according to the tenor of our former letters; and that without delay. Thus fare ye well. From Syon, 18th Sept. 1549.

Your loving friend,

E. SOMERSET.”

p. 181.
The protector falls into troubles.

But while the Duke of Somerset was thus diligent in quelling and punishing this conspiracy against the king and kingdom, a plot was hatching against himself; and almost ripe. For no longer than the beginning of the next month it brake out and took effect; when he was taken from the king at Windsor, and carried openly through the city of London to the Tower. Seeing the storm approaching him, he endeavoured to make all the friends he could by messages and applications. And the lord privy seal being now strong in the West, he wrote a letter to him, October 6th, giving him account of the con-

spiracy made against him, beginning, *Here hath of* 1549.
late risen such a conspiracy, &c. And by the post-
 script may be seen, what calumnies were now bruited
 abroad to blacken him and make him odious among
 the people. "They are not ashamed, writes he, to
 send posts abroad to tell, that we are already com-
 mitted to the Tower: that we would deliver the
 Bishops of Winchester and London out of prison,
 and bring in again the old mass." And in the letter
 it appears, they gave out that he had sold Boloign,
 and withheld the soldiers' wages. But I refer the
 reader to our historians, to know more of these
 troubles that befel that duke, under which at last he
 sunk. The foresaid letter of the duke, but without
 the postscript, together with the Lord Russel's
 answer, may be found in Fox.

Pag. 1244.

Yet to inform ourselves a little in this place con-
 cerning the occasions of his misfortunes. It must be
 reckoned among his failures, and a thing whereby he
 procured enemies to himself, the havock he made of
 sacred edifices, and whatsoever was contained in them.
 It was too barbarous indeed, what was practised by
 him, namely, the defacing antient monuments, and
 rooting out hereby the memory of men of note and
 quality in former times, of which posterity is wont to
 be very tender. For he pulled down in Paul's church-
 yard, and other places, many churches and religious
 fabrics, for the building of Somerset-house. And
 not only were the tombs of the dead razed, but their
 bones carried away in cartloads, and buried in
 Blomesbury. Yet this notice of former superstitions
 was gained by this barbarity, used by him and others
 under the reigns of King Henry and King Edward,
 that among a great number of rotten carcasses were
 found caskets full of pardons safely folded and lapt
 together in the bottom of their graves; which Dr.
 Haddon himself had observed, when they digged
 dead men out of their graves, and carried away their
 bones, occasioned by pulling down many churches
 and convents, as he wrote in his answer to Osorius.

The occa-
sions there-
of.

1549. But this was but a little part of what created the duke his misfortunes.

He is arbitrary.

By certain secret letters of Sir William Paget, secretary of state, wrote to the protector, we learn, that he was somewhat elated with his prosperity, and affected to be arbitrary in the court, and to have his own will take place, and would seldom follow advice. Whereby he procured to himself ill-will among the nobility and gentry: with whom also he would sometimes be very sharp in words. Nay, even the privy counsellors did not escape him, when they chanced in council to speak contrary to his will or judgment. A knight once having some business with him, was so nipped by him and rebuked, and that for no great matter, that he could not forbear repairing to Paget's chamber, there complaining to him with tears, how he had been used a little before by the protector. Nay, and his great friend Paget himself escaped not, but was

p. 182. often by him taken up very short at the council-board, where he used to speak freely: insomuch that he told the protector, that he had been discouraged at his grace's hands in open council to say his opinion, as much as ever man was. Which usage made, that neither he, nor others of the council, cared to speak much afterwards. These matters provoked the said Paget (who loved to speak his mind freely to his friend, and perhaps had liberty given him by the protector so to do towards him) to write a letter to him May 8, wherein he took the liberty to tell him, "That unless his grace would more quietly shew his pleasure in things, wherein he debated with other men, and would hear them again graciously, to say their opinions, what would ensue thereof he would be right sorry for, and his grace would have cause to repent. For no man would dare to speak to him what he thought, though it were never so necessary. And that would be dangerous for himself in the end. And that a king, that should give occasion of discouragement to his counsellors to say their opinions frankly, received thereby great hurt and peril to his

Reproved
by his
friend,
Paget.

realm. But a subject in great authority, as his grace was, using such cholerick fashion, was like to fall into great danger and peril of his own person, besides that of the commonwealth." The duke seemed but lately to have taken up this passionate way, perhaps in imitation of, or too much converse with his master, King Henry, who did use in very hasty manner to treat those that were about him.

And as this roughness to the gentry was one of the duke's errors, so it was thought another, that he so much courted the populacy, and used himself with so much condescension towards them, that they stood in no fear of him. For this the said secretary blamed him in a letter wrote to him in July, when the rebellion was now broke out, and men opened their mouths broadly against the government. It was a long expostulatory letter full of freedom and as great wisdom. He protested that he wrote it in such perplexity as he knew not what to do, and that his heart bled, and his eyes distilled down with weeping. For he saw at hand that coming, as he said, which he feared of long time, viz. the destruction of that good young child his sovereign lord, the subversion of his noble realm, and the ruin of his grace. And hence he took occasion to tell him at large of his imperfections in government, and particularly his too much gentleness and his too good nature, and his kindness to the common sort, which had animated them to disobedience: "His lenity, his softness, his opinion to be good to the poor, and affectation of the good word of the commons, who cried out, Oh! sir, there was never a man had the hearts of the commons as you have. The commons pray for you, and say, God save your life." To which Paget subjoins, "that he knew right well the duke's gentle heart, and that his meaning was good and godly. Though some there were, he said, that prated otherwise, and that he had some greater enterprise in his head, who leaned so much to the multitude. But he knew his grace's meaning and honest

1549.

Courts the
populacy.Paget's re-
buke of
him for
this.

1549. vertue. But still he insisted, that that evil then happening in the land, had been occasioned by his too much gentleness to the vulgar."

Would oppose the whole council. p. 183.

And then, as to his disobliging behaviour towards the counsellors, he shewed him, how he would sometimes oppose himself to the whole council, and when they joined all in a matter, he would out-reason them, and think by his authority to make them bow to his opinion. And again, how he would first deliver his opinion in a matter, and then ask theirs. Which the awe they had of him would make them incline to allow of, however inwardly they disliked it.

His Court of Requests disliked.

The protector also raised against himself much hard speech for that Court of Requests, he set up within his own house: the good intent whereof was to hear poor men's petitions and suits. And here oftentimes, upon examination of their cases, and upon the compassion he took of their oppressions, if he ended not their businesses, he would send his letters to the chancery in their favour. Which some judged to be a stopping the course of the courts, and endeavouring to warp the judges, with whom his letters, they said, would be apt to weigh much. In the Cotton Library there be two letters of Paget, whence these things above related are taken: wherein much of the true state of affairs at this juncture may be seen, and the slips of the protector, and likewise the temper, wisdom and great abilities, of that statesman the writer.

GG. HH. See them in the Repository.

The duke's mild government vindicated;

Yet Paget's temper naturally disposed to severity, and confirmed therein by the methods he had observed in Bishop Gardiner, under whom he had been bred, led him to principles of government perhaps too rigorous, and by some wise men in those days disliked; as thinking it not safe to hold such a strict hand over the commons, and to press and keep them under, in a kind of slavery; which English spirits would not, nor could digest. And therefore Somerset's milder courses in his managery of publick affairs were not to be thought so impolitic, however condemned by the

said Paget, and some other of the lofty domineering nobles, and gentlemen, whose covetousness made them afflict and oppress the inferior sort. And as for his Court of Requests, surely it deserved no such hard censure; serving as some check to the rigorous and unjust dealings of the rich and the mighty exercised upon the poor, who were not able to contend with them at law, by reason of their countenance and wealth, whatsoever great wrongs were done them; which at this court might easily and cheaply be shewn and complained of by way of request and petition. Here many controversies were made up, and restraints laid upon the destructive designs of the rich against the poor, and according to the cognizance of the causes brought before the duke, he would sometimes send his letters to the judges that were to hear them, not to warp their judgments, but to incline them to do justice impartially, and not to favour the great in their extortions upon those of meaner rank and degree: sometimes he would appoint intelligent and honest men as arbitrators, to consider the complaints preferred to him, and with speed to make a just determination and conclusion between party and party, without the long expensive formality of law. Such an order, for example sake, did the protector send to Francis None, and Owen Hopton, esquires, the last year. His letter I will insert for the giving the more light to this court.

1549.

And his
Court of
Requests.

“ After our hartie commendations: we send unto you the supplication here inclosed: wherein we mind-
ing direction by right; wherefore (knowing your wisdoms and upright dexterities) we will and require you by vertue hereof, calling all such parties before you, as you shall think mete for the better knowledge of the truith therin, to hear and examine the same. And upon due knowledge of the case, to proceed, without further tract of time, unto the final determination therof, as to right, equity and conscience shall apperteyne. So as the party complainant may receive and enjoy th’ole that in conscience he ought

MSS. penes
me.
His letter
from that
court.

p. 184.

1549. to have by your order; being you, by the tenor hereof, authorized thereunto, without further cause hereafter eftsones to molest us in this behalf with complaint. Thus not doubting that you will not frustrate this the good opinion we have conceyved in you, we bidde you farewel. From Somerset-Place, the 11. of March, an. 1548.

Your louing freende,
E. SOMERSET."

The lords,
the duke's
enemies,
summon
the coun-
ties to send
up forces.

I need not enter into any further relation of these troubles raised against the duke; our histories discover them at large. Yet to shew in part the course the lords, the duke's enemies, took against him: they summoned armed men, horse and foot, to repair to them from every county, to oppose the duke and his men: giving out to the gentry the great dangers the king's person was in, and the necessity of rescuing him out of the duke's hands: whose doings they called *traiterous and false*, and his proceedings, *devilish*. But upon the duke's submission and surrendering the king's person, the lords dispatched another letter, dated from London, Octob. 11, to forbear the sending up of the forces they required in their last; whose letter ran in this strain:

Their let-
ter.
Titus, B.

"After our harty commendations. Where we have heretofore addressed our letters unto sundry gentlemen, of that the king's majesty's county of for their coming, or sending towards us such, and as great numbers of hable men, both horsemen and footmen, as they might furnish, to join with us, for the deliverance of the king's majesty's most royal person from the imminent danger the same was in, through the traiterous doings and false practices of the Duke of Somerset: forasmuch as it hath now pleased Almighty God of his infinite goodness and mercy so to provide, that his majesty is delivered from those dangers: and the forces also assembled by the said duke for maintenance of his naughty and devilish pro-

ceedings, clearly also dispersed; we have thought good both to advertise both of this great goodness of God, requiring you to give him humble thanks for the same: and also to pray you to give notice by proclamation and otherwise, as you shall think good, to all such gentlemen of that county, to whom any such letters have been addressed from us, as is afore-said, to stay themselves with their men at home; taking good heed to the common peace, quiet and good order of the shire, according to the king's majesty's laws: giving them his majesty's most hearty thanks for their readiness to serve at this time. And so we bid you right hartily farewell. From London, this 11. of Octob. 1549.

Your loving friends."

Two days after, viz. Octob. 13, a revocation was made by letters patent of the authority of governor of the king's person, and protectorship, granted to the Duke of Somerset, Decemb. 24, anno 1, Edw. VI. for the ill government, rule and direction of his person: "Wherby it was brought in great danger; the subjects by civil dissension much annoyed, and the laws subverted, and his realms and dominions brought to great peril of utter ruin;" as the instrument ran.

The parliament, that had been prorogued, began to sit this year Nov. 4, and continued sitting till Feb. 1, following. In this session some further considerable steps were made in the reformation of religion, and abandoning the old superstitions out of the church, which stuck still full close to it: for as yet images in many churches, set up for religious worship, remained, or else were in the keeping of private men, priests and others; and the old *popish* service-books were still preserved and used by curates, as they stood affected; of which there were divers and sundry sorts, according to the various religious offices; such as *antiphonals*, *missals*, *grails*, *processionals*, *manuals*, *legends*, *pies*, *portuasses*, *primers*, *couchers*, *journals*,

1549.

p. 185.
The duke's
authority
of governor
and pro-
tector re-
voked.

The parlia-
ment con-
stitute laws
for re-
ligion.
The act for
taking a-
way popish
service-
books.

1549. *ordinals.* As to these, both books and images, it was decreed, that they should be abolished totally, and kept no longer in the kingdom. The images to be broken and defaced; and the books to be brought to the mayor, or other officer in each parish, before the end of 30 of June next; and this under a penalty, of money first, and then of imprisonment. And such officers were, upon pain of £40. to bring those books which they received, within three months, to the bishop of the diocese, his chancellor or commissary; and he was to cause them openly to be burnt, or otherwise to be defaced or destroyed, upon pain likewise of £40. But King Henry's Primer was particularly excepted; which indeed contained many good and wholesome instructions and devotions; that book therefore might be retained, only striking out the sentences of invocation and prayer to saints. Neither were images and pictures belonging to tombs and monuments to be meddled withal, but to remain and stand, if the persons for whom those monuments were erected were not reputed for saints, and so their pictures in danger to be abused to idolatry.

Which
frustrated
the good
ends of the
Common
Prayer
Book.

The evil and inconvenience of the books aforesaid, hitherto not called in, but remaining in churches, or otherwise preserved, was, that it was found to frustrate the good ends intended by the Book of Common Prayer lately set forth; which was, *For an uniform, quiet and godly order of common and open prayer.* "The use of which book, as the preamble set forth, was agreeable to the order of the primitive church, and much more comfortable unto the king's subjects, than other diversity of service, as heretofore of long time had been used; nothing being ordered in the same book to be read but the very pure word of God, or which was evidently grounded upon the same. Whereas in the other were things corrupt, untrue, vain and superstitious, and as it were a preparation for superstition; and which still remaining gave occasion to divers persons, as impugned the order and good meaning of the king's said Book of Common

Prayer, to continue in their old accustomed superstitious service, and also ministred occasion to diversity of opinions, rites, ceremonies and services." Many of these books upon this act were brought in; but very many more were not, but carefully concealed by those that affected them, in secret places; which were produced again and came to light under Queen Mary.

1549.

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Another good law made this parliament for amending the corrupt state of the church, was that whereby the king was empowered to appoint thirty-two learned men, to peruse and examine the old ecclesiastical laws; and to gather, order and compile such laws ecclesiastical, as should be thought to the king and his council, convenient to be used, practised, and set forth within the realm, in all spiritual or ecclesiastical courts; and that such laws, so made, should be taken and put in ure for the king's ecclesiastical laws.

An Act for making Ecclesiastical Laws.

Also, the old *Ordinal* being full of superstition, a new office of ordination of archbishops, bishops, priests, deacons and other ministers, was allowed of; which had been, or should be, suddenly framed and devised by six prelates, and six other learned in God's law, to be appointed by the king, or the greatest number of them; and by them to be set forth before the first day of April next. And this was enacted to be exercised and used, and none else.

An Act for authorizing a new Book of Ordination

This sessions of parliament ended with an Act of Grace and general Pardon, designed as well for the ease of such as had been concerned in the late rebellion, as other offenders against the laws. There was in this act a proviso, whereby persons that held certain opinions were excluded the benefit of this pardon; which are set down expressly, viz. that infants were not to be baptized; and if they were baptized, that they ought to be rebaptized when they came to lawful age. That it was not lawful for a Christian man to bear office or rule in the *commonwealth*. That no men's laws ought to be obeyed. That it was not

An Act of Pardon.

Anabaptists excepted out of it.

1549.

lawful for a Christian man to take an oath before any judge. That Christ took no bodily substance of our blessed lady. That sinners after baptism could not be restored by repentance. That all things be, or ought to be, common, and nothing several. The persons that held these doctrines might well have a note set upon them, being not consistent with a Christian *commonweal*: for if these should be believed and practised, it were not able to subsist; and they who held these tenets, were those they called *anabaptists*; whereof several were now in prison, who were not thought fit to have the benefit of this act: but some of them were brought to recant. Two suffered death, viz. Van Paris, and Joan of Kent.

Private
acts.

In this parliament, besides the public acts, which may be seen in the ordinary printed statute books, were made several private acts, never printed; which may not be unuseful nor unacceptable to mention, viz.

Lord de la
Ware.

An Act for Dividends and Quotidians in Wells.

An Act for disinheriting William West, during his Life. The reason whereof was, for designing to kill his uncle, the Lord La Ware, by poison, that he might the sooner enjoy his estate, and succeed to the honour of Baron La Ware. This William, whom Queen Elizabeth afterwards had created a baron anew, lived throughout the best part of that queen's reign; and his son Thomas was called to a parliament, sitting in the year 1597, and was presented to the antient place of his forefathers, Lords La Ware, taking precedency, as his ancestors had done, which his father, by reason of his late creation, had not enjoyed.

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An Act for the Restitution of Thomas Islely, Esq.

An Act for the Restitution of Sir William Hussey, Knight.

The Duke
of Somers-
set.

An Act touching the Fine and Ransom of the Duke of Somerset. That is, for the punishment of his late misdemeanours, he was fined £2000. a year of land, and lost all his goods and offices.

CHAP. XXIII.

An embassy to the emperor. The emperor's requests. The Pope's death. Peace with France. By the means of Guidot, an Italian merchant. Rewarded.

IN the month of November, the king and lords of his council (after the duke was deposed of the protectorship) sent again an ambassador to the emperor, viz. Sir Thomas Cheyne, treasurer of the king's chamber, to continue the good understanding between him and the emperor, and to acquaint him with the present state of England, with particular respect to the late disorders about Somerset; but chiefly to levy more soldiers out of his dominions, for the king's wars. He arrived at Brussels, Nov. 6. The morrow after his arrival, the emperor sent a gentleman of his chamber, Don John Manrique, brother to the Duke of Naiara, to welcome him; which Manrique was one of the chief officers of the emperor's household, and in right good estimation with him. Cheyne, having admission to the emperor's presence, signified to him, that a great end of his coming was to inform him of the late disorders in the kingdom about the Duke of Somerset; and some alterations touching the order of the government having lately happened, that the lords of the council thought good to give him in commandment, to declare the truth and ground thereof unto his majesty. And here Cheyne rehearsed unto him, from point to point, the whole discourse of the Duke of Somerset's proceedings, until the time of his apprehension, following therein, as near as he could, the very substance in effect of their lordship's instructions. He subjoined, "That albeit the king's majesty's affairs, as well at home as abroad, were presently, by reason of the said duke's wilful and evil government, in some declination, yet would the lords, as

1549.

Cheyne
goes am-
bassador to
the empe-
ror.

1549. much as in them lay, travail by all means possible, to redub and restore the same again to their former estate and estimation: for the furtherance wherof, he said, they doubted nothing of his majestie's wonted good will and affection. And that seeing Boloign remained presently, by the forenamed occasion, in such strait terms, there was now no other way to preserve it, but the repulse of the enemy from the siege, by force of men. That the Lord Clinton, the king's deputy there, had made a motion to Mons. Chastilion, the French king's lieutenant, to bring things to some composition: but that they refused to stand to the former treaties, and seemed in the rest to be over meagre, and little conformable to reason. And therefore that matter was broken off again; and no hope of any appointment that way, unless some other occasion should be ministred on their part; which if it should be offered, they would communicate to his majesty.

Desires
leave to
raise men.

“And that therefore, seeing there was now no other means to save that piece, but only by force of men, the king, as it was his will these matters should be discoursed at length unto him (the emperor) as to his most loving father and very friend, so, by the advice of his lords, did most heartily pray him to grant him for his mony the number of 2000 horsemen and 4000 foot, to be levied within his countries, with such furniture of armour, and other ammunition, as should be necessary.”

The emperor's
answer.

The emperor made this answer, “Mons. L'Ambassador, I must confess to have had, both now, and at sundry other times, large experience of the faithful love and friendly affiance, that the king my good brother, and his council, have reposed in me, as well by sundry other arguments, as by their particular communicating unto me from time to time the estate of their affairs. And like as I am sorry to hear of the trouble and business that hath been lately among them, so am I very glad to perceive it is at the last grown to so good and quiet an end, and in so good likelihood of con-

tinuance, which I hope, through the good and prudent governance of those grave and wise counsellors, the king, my good brother, his estate and person, shall henceforth be in good surety, his realms quieter governed, and his enemies better encountred, than they have been hitherto. Wherto, for my good brother's sake, I wish as good success, as I would to mine own proper affairs. 1549.

“As to the estate of Boloign, albeit it standeth, as ye say, in very weak terms, yet am I of opinion, that the French are able for this winter time to work no manner of displeasure that way. Wherein, and in the rest of my good brother's affairs, I have heretofore at good length declared mine advice and counsel unto Mons. L'Ambassador here then; to which I have not presently any other thing to add. But as to the numbers of men that my good brother requir-eth at my hands, in good faith, as well because his father was, during his life time, my very friend, and almost another father, as also because his majesty, being yet under years, hath therefore need of his friend's assistance, I would even, with all my heart, shew him as much plesure as in me lyeth, and do for him as much as for my own child, my honour reserved: but yet can I not, without some touch of my estimation, and breach of my league with France, satisfy the request herein presently. And if I were disposed, or might agree therto, yet to speak plainly as I think, I assure you it should in my mind rather hinder than further my good brother's affairs, for divers respects; and namely, because the French, how closely soever the matter were gon about, might have commodity enough also to levy such numbers of men as they should think good. Glad would I be to shew my good brother plesure, and very loth either to do any thing against mine own honour, or hinder my good brother's affairs. On the other side, I remember I am bound to observe my treaties with France, which I cannot violate without some touch of mine honour.” And so he concluded, praying the p. 189.

1549. ambassador to common with Mons. D'Arras, who should further declare unto him his mind, and devise such means herein as should be thought most indifferent and meetest for both parts. And so, after leave taken, they departed.

Some foot
and horse
granted.

Yet was not this embassy wholly ineffectual, as obtaining nothing but good words: for in Cheyne's and in Hoby's conference with D'Arras, he told them, that the emperor was willing to grant the levying of five or six thousand footmen, so as they had them from about Freezland, and the sea-coasts thereabouts, where they had at other times been accustomed to levy their men, and with condition only, that they were conveyed thence by sea, and none otherwise. He said further, that for the horsemen which they demanded, the emperor thought they should not have occasion to make any such great preparation against the French, as well because they were presently, for want of provision of victuals, and other necessities, unable to bring down toward Boloign any great number of men of arms, as also for that the time of the year was now very late. Yet to satisfy as much as he might the king, his good brother, he could be content they should have out of the country of Cleves five or six hundred horsemen to pass by land, by ten and twenty file-a-file: but as for the carriage, provision, and victuals they required, the emperor could in no wise grant thereto; as well because the matter would be over manifest to the world, and quite against the treaties with France; as also for that his subjects in like case had been at other times ill entreated by the English, whereof they had heretofore made sundry complaints, and rested so ill satisfied, that they could never be brought to serve herein, without they were by the emperor's express command, yea, and with threatening of punishment, compelled thereto: which should too much open the matter to the world, and be almost a plain publication of war with France. And lastly, the scarcity of victuals in those parts presently was such, that he could not, without his sub-

jects' great prejudice and hindrance, grant liberty for 1549.
the conveyance of any away.

This business of King Edward with the emperor
being thus answered, the emperor had some business
also with King Edward, which D'Arras at this meet-
ing reported to the ambassadors, Cheyne and Hoby;
whereof one was this: Certain French letters were
lately intercepted by the English near about Boloign,
which treated concerning certain practices of Nece
and Dragute Rayes, two infidels, sea commanders,
that governed a fleet of ships belonging to the Turk,
which the French king had procured of the Great
Turk for his service against the emperor. A dupli-
cate of these letters the king had sent to Hoby, to
deliver to the emperor, for his behoof and service.
D'Arras shewed that it was his master's desire, that
the king would communicate to him the original let-
ters, in case it might not turn to the hindrance of the
king's proceedings, for the better proof and trial
thereof; which might, he said, stand the emperor in
good stead, and would be an acceptable pleasure to
him.

Certain re-
quests of
the em-
peror to
the king.

The French
call in the
Turk.

Secondly, he desired, that whereas one Sebastian
Gabote, or Cabote, grand pilot of the emperor's In-
dias, was then in England, forasmuch as he could not
stand the king in any great stead, seeing he had but
small practice in these seas, and was a very necessary
man for the emperor, whose servant he was, and had
a pension of him; that some order might be taken
for his sending over in such sort as the emperor
should at better length declare unto the king's council.
Notwithstanding, I suspect Gabote still abode in
England at Bristow (for there he lived), having two or
three years after set on foot a famous voyage hence,
as we shall mention in due place.

p. 190.
Sebastian
Cabote.

Thirdly, there was a bulwark lately made by the
English, as it seems, in Boloignois, towards the em-
peror's frontiers, and built, as they asserted, upon part
of his territories. This had been sundry times de-
clared unto the king's ambassadors, and redress re-

A bulwark
built upon
the em-
peror's ter-
ritories.

1549. quired: wherefore now the emperor desired commissioners to be appointed on either party, for the determination thereof, as soon as might be; for he thought he had great wrong done herein. But to this Sir Philip Hoby answered, that he was informed the ground whereon this bulwark was built was indeed within the king's territories, and so proved by the confession of one of the emperor's own subjects. But D'Arras said, some of the officers there denied it.

The match between the Lady Mary and the Infant of Portugal moved.

Lastly, whereas at Paget's being ambassador there, Somerset being then lord protector, motion was made on the king's behalf for a marriage between the Infant of Portugal and the Lady Mary, because the matter rested then upon the knowledge of the Infant's estate, and what dower he could be able to assure unto the said lady, with certain other points desired to be cleared: the emperor had since sent into Portugal to treat upon this matter, and to know the certainty hereof; and therefore he would gladly know, whether, upon answer received from thence, the king and his council minded to proceed any further herein, and stand to the motion made in the protector's time?

The emperor recommends religion to the king.

When Cheyne took his leave of the emperor in order to his return home, the emperor used these words to him at parting: "I shall pray you (said he) after my most hearty commendations to the king and his council, to desire both him and his council to have matters of religion first recommended, to the end we may be at the length all of one opinion: till when, to speak plain unto you as I think, I can neither so earnestly, nor so thorowly, assist my good brother, as my desire is."

The pope dies.

The pope dying in this month of November, while these two ambassadors were at Brussels, they gave the court the news of it, and of the canvassing that followed for a successor; and because an English cardinal was nominated among the rest as likely to wear the triple crown, I will set down this part of their letter: "The Bishop of Rome being dead,

about the 9th of this instant, the Cardinal Farneze 1549.
sent word shortly after to the emperor, that he would
get him, if it were his pleasure, one and twenty voices
with his own, for whomsoever he would have *pope*.
The emperor made answer, that he would do herein
as God should put in his head; and, as it is said, he
counselled him to do the like. Here are sundry opi-
nions about the new bishop elect: for some think the
emperor himself will be pope, if he may; others think
he will procure his brother, Ferdinando, to be pope;
and some suppose the Duke of Savoy; others name p. 191.
the Cardinal Pole; others, the Cardinal of Trent, and
many, the Cardinal Carpi or Veruli, who are good
imperials. On the other side, there are also said
to be in the election the Cardinal Salviati, and the
Cardinal Ridolphi, who are both good French."

The year declining, and martial achievements be-
ing hindered by the long nights and ill weather, it
became a proper season for treaty between England
and France; which began upon a pretty strange oc-
casion. One Anthony Guidot, a foreign merchant
residing here, of his own head, for ought appeared,
(though he pretended he had his order from France)
made several journeys in the month of December to
and fro, to propound a treaty; which, at last, by his
industry, had the intended effect, though at first there
was but little appearance thereof. The inkling there-
of soon came to the emperor's court; who hearing of
it, desired by Hoby, the English ambassador, to know
the truth. By a letter of the 13th December, the
said ambassador advertised it over into England to
the council, with his advice thereupon. They, De-
cember 31, wrote back to him their thanks, and
"How they perceived the bruit that was in the em-
peror's court, concerning the communication of peace
between the two realms: but that he might be as-
sured they had not forgotten what they had before
written to him, namely, that in case they proceeded
towards a conclusion of peace with the French, they
would cause the emperor to be made privy to it; and

The begin-
ning of the
treaty be-
tween Eng-
land and
France.

Occasioned
by Guidot.

1549. that so they intended to do indeed. But that as for the practice entred by Anthony Guidot, it was a thing begun of his own mind: and that because as yet there was no great likelihood it should take any effect, seeing there was neither time, place, nor meeting of commissioners appointed thereunto; therefore they thought it not necessary to write of a thing as yet so uncertain and doubtful: but that if they perceived, if by that means, or any other, there should be any towardness of a meeting for that purpose like to take any good effect, they would certify him of it, to the intent the emperor might by him be made privy to it. And that one thing he might be assured of, that in case they entred into any such communication with France, yet nevertheless they would do nothing that should by any means be prejudicial to the treaty between the king's highness and the emperor his good brother."

Com-
mis-
sioners ap-
pointed on
both sides.

But in January, by the pains of Guidot, the matter began to ripen, and come to some further effect; for now, in good earnest, commissioners were appointed on both sides to treat. For, as the council wrote to the said ambassador, Jan. 16, Anthony Guidot came out of France, and brought word, that the French king desired to have a meeting to treat upon a peace, and for that purpose had named for his part Mons. De Rochepot, Mons. De Chastilion, Mons. De Mortier, and Mons. De Sassie, otherwise called the Secretary Boucheter. And perceiving the good inclination to peace, which the French shewed to have, they thought it not unmeet for the public wealth and quietness of Christendom, that the king's highness for his part should give ear unto it; and so he had appointed the lord privy seal, the Lord Paget, Sir William Peters and Sir John Mason, as commissioners for his majesty, to meet with the said French commissioners upon the frontiers, about the twenty-fifth, or twenty-sixth, of this present. And they gave the ambassador to know, moreover, that if upon their conference there appeared any towardness of a good

conclusion, he should be certified of it, to the intent 1549.
he might advertise the emperor.

The business, now lying before the English com-
missioners, was to demand payment of an annual ^{The} French's
pension due to England, as a debt owned by the ^{offers and}
former French king; and to hear what the French ^{brags.}
commissioners would offer concerning Boloign. But
to know how matters went between the commissioners,
and how intolerably insolent and insulting the French
were; and lastly, to understand the present condition
of things at home, a letter from the Lord Paget, one
of the commissioners on the English side, to the Earl
of Warwick, lord great master, will abundantly show. II.
Whereby it appeared, that the French carried them-
selves loftily in all their proceedings; and the know-
ledge of the present juncture increased their courage. See the Re-
pository.
They told our commissioners, they would have Bo-
loign by fair means or by foul. And as for the pen-
sion, they would, they said, be no longer tributaries.
They extolled the power of their king, and spake but
meanly of ours: with such bragging and braving
terms and countenances, (which especially appeared
in Rochepot,) that one would have judged him a man,
said the Lord Paget, more fit to make of peace a
war, than of war a peace. They would recognize no
debts: for, they said, the English had made them
spend, and had taken upon the seas, ten times as
much as the debt came to. They said, the pension
was granted; but the times were turned. That it
was granted by the French king that was dead, to a
king of England that was dead. And that the king
of France could not by his simple grant, without con-
firmation of parliament, bind his successors. That
King Henry made his bargain at that time, when he
had the cages in his hand, namely, the French king and
the emperor at one time, and so might make his bar-
gain himself as he listed. But his ministers took not
heed to knit it surely up by parliament. They said
therefore, they would use time as King Henry did,
when his time served. For they said, they knew their

1549. state, and that the English were not able to war with them: and in fine, all that they offered was, that the English commissioners should wipe away all pretences that they made to France, and ask a reasonable sum for Boloign, and they would make a reasonable answer; or, if they would not, in respect of their master's young age, acquit his pretence, they required Boloign, and they would agree with them for a sum; and they might reserve to their master his *droits*, that he pretended to; and to them (the French) their defences for the same. But Rochepot said, they would have Boloign, whosoever said, Nay; and that the English were in poverty and mutiny at home, beset all about with enemies, having no friend to succour them, destitute of money to furnish them, and so far in debt as hardly they could find any creditors. This language angered the English extremely, but they could not well tell how to help themselves.

A peace
concluded.

In short, it was thought the best way to sell Boloign, a very chargeable place, and in danger to be lost, on the best terms they could. In March this produced a peace, and Boloign was sold. For what and the conditions, let other historians relate.

The emperor
acquainted
with it by
the ambas-
sador.
p. 193.

This the Lord Russel, Earl of Bedford, the Lord Paget, and the other commissioners, signified to the ambassador at the emperor's court, with commission to him to open the same, on the king and council's behalf, to the emperor. Upon the receipt whereof he demanded audience; when, at his coming to the emperor's presence, which was March 22, he said, "That wheras the king's highness, by advice of his lords, had lately, for the better quietness of Christendom, and such other grounds and considerations as had been heretofore by him, the ambassador, declared to him and his ministers, entred to treat of peace with France: and having now at length, after some time spent in debating the matter, grown finally to an end, and concluded a peace with the French king, the king his master had commanded him to open and declare the same unto him. The sum whereof, he

said, was, that for a certain sum of money to be paid 1549.
to the king's majesty, partly in hand, and partly at
days, Boloign, with the members therto adjoining,
and the other pieces of the new conquest, were to be
restored to the French king; and certain pieces which
the king had fortified in the midst of Scotland, to the
Scots, who were comprehended with the French king
in this treaty, in such sort as the form of their com-
prehension should appear to his majesty.

"And this, sir," as he proceeded, "is the effect
of this agreement: wherein such consideration and
respect hath been had to your majesty's amity and
friendship, as to the strait league that is between you
and the king my master appertaineth; as by this
copy of those parts of the treaty that concern this
matter, may more plainly appear to your majesty."
And here he delivered unto the emperor a note, con-
taining two or three clauses of the treaty sent him by
the Earl of Bedford and his colleagues. Which the
emperor received, and said, he would cause it to be
overlooked. The ambassador went on, shewing the
emperor, "That the king trusted to find at his hands
no less continuance of friendship, than he and his
council minded towards him; wherein he should find
no lack in them to the uttermost that by the treaty
could be required. Not doubting but his majesty,
as a prince of such wisdom and experience, and
knowing as he did the state of the king his master's
realm, and what great charges Boloign did put his
highness and realm unto, did well enough remember,
that after eight years wars with the Scots, and six
years wars with the French king, wanting the assist-
ance of either friend, neighbour, or ally, the French
and the Scots being in the mean time joined together,
and having to do no where else with any other; it
was more than necessary for his highness to grow to
agreement and peace, as he had done: nevertheless
he remained, as he had done always, his majesties
assured friend, in any thing that he could or ought to
do him pleasure in; in hope, assuredly, to receive the

1549. semblable correspondence of friendship at his hands, whom he reputed his best brother and perpetual ally."

The emperor's answer.

The emperor perceiving the ambassador to come to an end of his talk, after a little pause, and having with sundry words of ceremony willed the ambassador to render his most hearty commendations unto the king's majesty, with like thanks unto his majesty and the lords, for this respect that they shewed him, said, "Mons. L'Ambassador, I am right glad, and do rejoyce even withal my heart to understand, that the king, my good brother, is now at the last fallen to agreement and peace with France. And, surely, I have long coveted to see him in these his tender years at quiet, and at concord with his neighbours; which being now come to pass, I mistrust not, but both he for his own commodity, and we his friends for his sake, shall have cause to rejoyce therat. For the regard that my good brother and the lords of his council have had, in this their conclusion with France, towards me, and the amity and league that is between us, I pray you render unto them my most hearty thanks; assuring the king, my good brother, that like as I have always hitherto lookt for no less at his hands, so shall he be sure to find the reciproque therof at mine, in the sure observation of the league that is between us to the uttermost jot, or in any other thing that I may shew him pleasure in, to the best of my power. And truly, I cannot but confess to have perceived the earnest affection and good will, that the king my good brother and his council have born always towards me, in the communicating to me from time to time the estate of his affairs; wherby indeed I have perceived, as ye say, how necessary it hath been for them to grow to peace, especially in respect of my good brother's younger years. And like as they have not hitherto wanted (although in respect of their wisdom they have had little need therof) such friendly advice and counsel, when they have required it at my hands, as I could give them;

p. 194.

no more shall my good brother find me unready to continue and encrease the amity and friendship that hath thus long continued between us and our houses, to the uttermost that I may; the reciproque whereof I doubt not to find at his and his minister's hands, whensoever opportunity shall be therto administered." And to this tenour the emperor most obligingly concluded.

Anthony Guidot was well rewarded for his pains. For whatsoever favours he received from France for this service, King Edward soon after the peace gratified him with a thousand crowns, and a thousand crowns pension, and made him a knight; and his son had a pension of two hundred and fifty crowns, as the king makes a memorial of it in his Journal. But this was not all; for as I find elsewhere, the king, about a year after, seemed to make him his merchant, and granted him a licence, under the name of Sir Anthony Guidot, his factors and attorneys, to transport and carry over beyond seas woollen cloths and kersies, lead, tin, and all other merchandizes of this realm, being not of the staple of Calais, neither prohibited by the laws of the land; and also to bring in velvet, cloth of gold, and other merchandizes, as sweet wines, and oils, paying for the customs and subsidies as the merchants of England did. The grant also of 250*l.* yearly (answering to the thousand crowns mentioned in the Journal) during life, is also here set down; to be received by the king's order of the Duke of Florence, who owed to the king and his successors 500*l.* a year for certain years.

1549.

Guidot rewarded.

Warr.
Book.

p. 195.

CHAP. XXIV.

A fire in the palace. Earl of Arundel confined. Books published this year, by Cheke, P. Martyr, Hooper, Ochin, Will. Thomas. The Holy Bible. Beck, Bale, &c. New Book of Ordination. The state of the realm. Sir Stephen, curate of Cree-church.

1549.
A fire at
court.

NOW from more publick affairs of state let us descend to more private matters. At Christmas a fire happened at the king's palace at Westminster; the effect, as it seems, of the great feasting there. For it fell chiefly in the kitchen and office adjoining, as the scullery; whereby, beside other damage, much of the king's plate was spoiled and consumed. So that the charge only of recruiting his plate, partly occasioned by this fire, cost a good round sum; as appears in the Warrant Book, where a warrant is mentioned to the exchequer, to pay to certain persons for plate bought of them for the king's use, and for new making and gilding certain vessels burnt there at the feast of Christmas, together with mending of plate, the sum of 1687 16 11^q.

The Earl of
Arundel
confined,
and others.

In January was the Earl of Arundel, for certain misdemeanors, sequestered to his house; as likewise, for certain considerations, were Thomas Arundel, and Mr. Rogers of the privy chamber. Rumours likewise blew about that the Earl of Southampton also was sequestered to his house; which indeed was not so, but he might go at his pleasure whither him listed. This news the council imparted in their letters to Hoby, their ambassador. What those misdemeanors of the Earl of Arundel were, King Edward in his Journal relates, viz. plucking down locks and bolts at Westminster, and giving away the king's stuff, &c. whence arose great suspicion of him; and he was fined 12,000*l*. of which yet he was afterwards pardoned. We shall hear of him again under the next year.

I have little more to add concerning this year; only to mention some books that were now published, and to give some prospect of the state of the nation at this juncture. 1549.

This year Mr. Cheke, the king's schoolmaster, and one of his bedchamber (but retired this summer to his old mother Cambridge) put forth a book against the rebellion, entitled, "The Hurt of Sedition, how grievous it is to a Commonwealth." On the reverse of the title page is the picture of Absalom hanging in the tree, thrust through by Joab, with this motto, "The Reward of Absalom the Rebel." The running title is, "The true Subject to the Rebel." It was printed by John Day, dwelling at Aldersgate, and William Seres, dwelling in Peter College, and were to be sold in the new shop in the Little Conduit, in Cheapside. This discourse carried an admirable strain of rhetoric and persuasion, and was close and piercing, like an oration of Demosthenes, with whom Cheke was very conversant, and of whom he was master. It began,

Cheke's
book a-
gainst the
rebellion.

p. 196.

"Among so many and notable benefits, wherewith God hath already so plentifully endued us, there is nothing more beneficial, than that we have by his grace kept us quiet from rebellion at this time. For we see such miseries hang over the whole state of the commonwealth, through the great disorder of your sedition, that it maketh us much to rejoyce, that we have been neither partakers of your doings, nor conspirers of your counsils. For even as the Lacedemonians, for the avoiding of drunkenness, did cause their sons to behold their servants when they were drunk, that by beholding their beastliness, they might avoid the like vice; even so hath God, like a merciful Father, stayed us from your wickedness, that by beholding the filth of your fault, we may justly, for offence, abhor the like rebels, whom else, by nature, we love like Englishmen. And so for ourselves, we have great cause to thank God, by whose religion and holy word, daily taught us, we learn not only to fear him

1549. truly, but also to obey our king faithfully, and to serve in our own vocation honestly. And as for you, we have surely just cause to lament you as brethren, and yet juster cause to rise against you as enemies, and most just cause to overthrow you as rebels." And, a little after, "How do ye take in hand to reform? Be ye kings? by what authority? or by what occasion? Be ye the king's officers? by what commission? Be ye called of God? by what token declare ye that? God's word teacheth us, that no man should take in hand any office, but he that is called of God, like Aaron.—Ye rise for religion. What religion taught that? If ye were offered persecution for religion, ye ought to fly. So Christ teacheth you; and yet you intend to fight. Why rise ye for religion? have ye any thing contrary to God's book? yea, have you not all things agreeable to God's word?" Thus went he on, answering all their objections and demands, with an easy plainness and convincing evidence. This whole treatise is transcribed and preserved in Hollingshed's History.

p. 1042.

P. Martyr's
book of the
Eucharist.

Now also came forth the readings of Peter Martyr, public professor of divinity in Oxford, about the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in quarto, entitled, "Tractatio de Sacramento Eucharistiæ; Habita publicè Oxonii, per D. Petrum Martyrem Vermilium Florentinum, in ea Academia sacre Theologiæ publicum et Regium Professorum: cum jam absolvisset interpretationem xi. Capitis prioris Epistolæ ad Corinthios." This book the learned professor dedicated to Archbishop Cranmer, in a large epistle. The reason whereof he gave, was, "Since he could not find a defender, both of evangelical truth and also of this eucharistical sacrament, *sanctior, doctior, et firmior*; i. e. more holy, more learned, and more steddy, than he; and that his grace had so great knowledge concerning this controversy, as he (P. Martyr) well knew, that it was hard to find the like in any one beside. That there was none of the fathers whom he had not very diligently made his observations of; nor any book, either of antient or modern writers, which I have not

my self (as Martyr told him) with these eyes seen, noted with his own hand, whatever belonged to that whole disputation." He went on in his character of this great archbishop and martyr: "That councils, canons, popes, decrees, which pertained thereunto, he had digested, with so great labour, into particular distinct heads, that, unless he (P. Martyr) had not been an eye-witness himself, he should scarcely ever have believed it upon the relation of others. Nor had he (the archbishop) taken such pains, study and labour, in this subject only, of the eucharist, but that he had observed, how he (the said archbishop) had don the same almost in all other doctrines, which were chiefly controverted in that age. That he had both publickly and privatly conflicted with the adversaries, and with admirable strength of learning, sharpness of wit, and dexterity of performance, asserted what he knew to be true, from the thorny and intricate cavils of sophisters; that he (P. Martyr) saw it necessary to fly to the authority of his name, since he had need of some powerful ὑπερασπιστῆς (defender) under whom he might be protected from those who had been detracting, tearing and traducing his name every where, with most shameless lyes: and such men as he thought could never have been, had he not found them."

In this work he disposed the order and method of his discourse under these four heads: First, of that conjunction, whereby it is commonly said, the bread and wine is transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ. Next, to examine another opinion, which makes the bread and wine indeed, as to their entire and true natures, to be retained in the sacrament; and so to be retained, that they have *adjoinedly, naturally* (as they speak) *corporally and really*, the true body and blood of Christ. In the third place, should be weighed what others also said, that they are not at all joined together any other way than *sacramental*; that is, by signification and representation. And then, lastly, it should be shewn, how the second and third opinions,

1549. and what belongeth to them, do more tend to piety in this sacramental affair.

This book was printed again at Zurich, in the year 1552, by Johannes Wolphius, a learned minister there, and dedicated by him to one John Butler, a gentleman of a considerable family in England, and a great friend and benefactor to the said Wolphius, with whom he became acquainted, assisting him in his studies; now settled at Zurich, after his travels into Germany, France, and Italy. At the beginning of this second edition of this book of Peter Martyr's, are added, (for the fuller understanding the different opinions of the sacrament), "I. Papæ de Eucharistiâ quæ sit Sententia. II. Martini Lutheri de Eucharistiæ Sacramento, quæ Sententia. III. Hulderichi Zuinglii Sententia de Christi in sacra cœna Præsentia."

Hoper's
Oration
against
Purgatory.

John Hoper did this year publish a funeral oration, made Jan. 14, against purgatory, upon that text, "I heard a Voice from Heaven, saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the Dead that die in the Lord, streightway, so saith the Sprete," &c. Beginning with this preface, "The death of a man's frend is paynful for two consyderations. The one, because he that lyveth is forsaken and destytute of the famylyarity and frendship of him that is dead. The other, that the lyving doubteth where the soul of his friend departed is become; whether it be in heaven or in hell. Both these ills may be redressed with one good, that is, to wit, if he that lyveth be assured by the word of God, that his frend departed is by mortal death entered in Christ into eternal lyfe. But now in this standeth all the doubt, how the living may know in what state the souls departed stand. This doubt cannot the gentile dissolve, the wisemen of the world, nor the common sort of soche as beareth the name of Christianity; namely, for this, that they ymagin their frends souls to be broiled and rosted in the fyre of purgatory. Wherefore, even as they fear they wotte not what, so seek they their remedy they know not how; wyth masse, *Dirige*, and such other. These

p. 198.

pains by the lyving presupposed of the dead. Who can justly reprehend the mysbelyving lyving for the state of the dead, that more than nede is payneth themselves; and more than profyt is, redemeth the prayers of other? 1549.

“ But what may the trueth conclude? Is there any certaynty that puttyth all out of dowte, our frends souls to depart from the earth straight unto eternal lyfe? Truly, after the judgment of the flesh, there is no such knowledge. For the flesh in thys case either wyl playnly dispayre for the horroure and gret-ness of synne, or else dowte of the means, how it may be remedyed. Only therfore the certaynty is known by the scripture of God; gyve therefore hede what in thy case the word of God certifieth us of the dead: *I heard a voice from heaven, saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord, straightway,*” &c. This sermon was printed by Edward Whitchurch, at the sign of the Sun, in Fleet-street.

Now came forth a book in quarto, writ against the pope, by Barnardin Ochín, a learned Italian, and companion of Peter Martyr into this land; both which were received with much respect by Archbishop Cranmer into his family. This book was writ in Latin by the author, but said to be translated into English by Mr. John Ponet, D.D. and never printed before in any language, and was dedicated by the said Ochín to King Edward VI. beginning thus: “ Although God of his mere goodness hath given to your majesty rich treasures, most large kingdoms, special grace and love of all people, most high nobility of blood, most singular ornaments both of the body and of the mind; partly coming only of God, and partly through his favour obtained also by your industry; besides other innumerable graces, which it hath pleased God to endue your highness withal: yet notwithstanding, all these things ought not, or cannot be compared to that benefit which he hath shewed unto you, in giving you, in such a dark world and so tender age, such clear light of Christ,” &c. It was called

Ochín's
Dialogues
against the
Pope's Pri-
macy.

1549. "A Tragedy, or Dialogue of the unjust usurped Primacy of the Bishop of Rome, and of all the just abolishing of the same." This book consisted of nine dialogues; and the parties that spake in each of them were, in the first, Lucifer and Beelzebub. In the second, Boniface III. and Dr. Sapience, secretary to the emperor. In the third, the People of Rome and the Church of Rome. In the fourth, the Pope and Man's Judgment, and the People of Rome. In the fifth, Thomas Massuccius, the master of his horse, and Lepidus, the pope's chamberlain. In the sixth, Lucifer and Beelzebub. In the seventh, Christ, and Michael and Gabriel, archangels. In the eighth, King Henry VIII. and Papista, and Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury. And, in the ninth, King Edward VI. and the Lord Protector. This book was printed at London, for Gualter Lynne, dwelling on Summer Key, by Billingsgate.

p. 199.
A book of
prophecies
of the
pope.

To which is subjoined another book, and of the same subject, and printed by the same stationer, which therefore I conclude came out also this year, entitled, "The Beginning and End of all Popery and Popish Kingdoms." The epistle is writ by Gualter Lynn, the printer to King Edward VI. "It is said to be taken out of all prophecies for more than three hundred years ago, — to the amendment of this present world. Set forth out of High Almayn, by Gualter Lynne." It hath a great many figures and pictures of the pope and the beasts, and sometimes of Beelzebub, resembling the visions in the Revelation. Of which thus in the epistle: "Because it is so secret a mystery, that cannot well be opened without plain demonstration, the author of this book hath most plainly set forth by figures, the state that this anti-christ is in, hath been in, or shall be in, even to the day of his utter destruction. He added also, that these figures were not of the author's own invention, but they were found in antient libraries above 300 years since: and that there was at that present day remaining in the Abby of St. Laurence in Luyke, a

table of great antiquity, containing pourtraicture of like matter. Wherby, he said, it was manifest, that the fathers of antient time saw in the papacy the things that they durst not utter, either by word or writing, but trusting that the time would come, when men might be bold to speak it. They did in the mean time keep it in painting and pourtraiture." 1549.

About September, came forth an ingenious book, made by William Thomas, clark of the council. It was "An History of Italy," in English. Treating of the estate of many and divers commonwealths, how they had been, and at present were governed. Here he gave, first, a description of Italy; then of the estate of it in general; then an abridgment of the state thereof from the beginning, until the Roman empire was utterly divided. Next, the description of Rome, and the marvellous antiquities there; then of the present estate of Rome; an abridgment of the lives of the Roman bishops; the Venetian estate, and the order of their commonwealth; the description of Naples, and the history thereof; the description of Florence, and its estate; the description of Genoa, and the estate thereof; the description of Milain, and its estate; also, the estates of Mantua, Ferrara, Placentia, Parma, and Urbin. In writing this, the author was much assisted from his own experience and long travels in those parts. He dedicated his book to the Earl of Warwic, Viscount Lisle, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, Lord Chamberlain, and High Admiral of England. In his epistle he shewed the profit he designed by his book, viz. "That setting forth in our mother tongue the doings of strangers, and especially the Italian nation, which seemed to flourish in civility, most of all other at this day, his own countrymen might see upon what little beginnings many great estates have risen; and how they that have the power to rule, by using their authorities well and prudently, have merited immortal fame of honour and praise; and using tyranny and evil government, have contrariwise born eternal slander and shame."

Thomas
his book of
Italy.

1549 Likewise to show, how mutable fortune is, and how
 p. 200. that which hath been gotten with extreme pains, un-
 measureable expences, and unreasonable effusion of
 bloud, hath been lost in a moment; and that com-
 monly he that hath conquered most in war, at the best
 is yet a loser. And, finally, how by division, either
 among the nobility or the commons, there ensueth
 utter destruction of realms, and subversion of com-
 monwealths: wherunto there is none so great a mi-
 nister as the alteration of antient laws and customs.

“These and infinite more such like things, being set
 forth to the eyes of princes, their hearts would be
 more inclined with peace and justice to enrich their
 subjects, and therby procure themselves glory, than
 by murdering of innocents, ravishing of honest wives
 and maidens, burning, spoiling and destruction of
 countries, (which are the effects of war) to make
 themselves conquerors of that they cannot long enjoy.
 For surely, said he, more praise shall the prince
 deserve that leaveth his realm quiet and wealthy unto
 his successors, than he that for the conquest of other
 countries impoverisheth and disturbeth his own. He
 wished all noblemen therefore to read his book, to
 the end they might therof take occasion so honorably
 to spend their life-time, that after their death they
 might shine in fame for ever. The reason he assigned
 of the dedication of this his travail to this great lord,
 was for his excellent feats of chivaldry, both by sea
 and land; and being such an one as he was, able to
 judge whether his (the author's) opinion were good or
 not. As his wonderful knowledge in civil orders
 made him worthy to be no less esteemed excellent in
 council, as he had been tryed a most excellent cap-
 tain in the wars. This dedication was Sept. 20.”

The Bible
 printed this
 year.

Now also came forth the Holy Bible of Tindal's
 translation, revised by Coverdale. It bore this title,
 “The Bible, that is to say, all the Holy Scripture;
 in which are contained the Old and New Testament,
 truly and purely translated into English: and now
 lately with great industry and diligence recognized.

Es. i. 2. Hearken, O heavens, and thou earth give ear: for the Lord speaketh. Imprinted at London by John Day, dwelling at Aldersgate, and William Seres, dwelling in Peter College. Cum gratia et privilegio ad imprimendum solum. xvii day of Aug. MDXLIX. These things ensuing, are joyned with the present volume of the Bible. I. A Kalendar with an Almanac. II. A Description and Succession of the Kings of Judah and Jerusalem: declaring, when, and under what kings, every prophet lived, and what notable things happened in their times. III. An Exhortation to the Study of the Holy Scripture, both of the Old and New Testament. IV. A Table to find many of the chief and principal matters contained in the Bible. V. A supputation of the years from Adam to Christ, collected by Edm. Beck. VI. A Prologue, shewing the use of the Scripture. VII. The names of all the Books of the Bible, and the contents of the chapters of every book. VIII. A Register, or brief rehearsal of the names of the most famous and notable persons mentioned in the Bible. There be also prologues to the five books of Moses, and before the prophet Jonas, and to every of the four Evangelists, and before every Epistle of the New Testament, and after every chapter of the book, are added many plain annotations and expositions of such places as unto the simple and unlearned seem hard to understand:" which were done by Coverdale.

The same Edmund Beck, who was ordained deacon by Bishop Ridley, an. 1551, either this year, or not far from it, published two dialogues, written in Latin by the famous Clerk, D. Erasmus of Rotterdam. One called Polyphemus, or the Gospeller; the other, Disposing of Things, and Names translated into English. Printed at Canterbury, in St. Paul's church-yard, by John Michel.

Mr. Bale also, this year, 1549, set forth the New-Year's Gift of John Leland to King Henry VIII. being some account of his journey in the search

1549.

p. 201.

Bale publishes Leland's New-year's Gift.

1549.
Dedicates
it to King
Edward.

of England's antiquities: setting a dedication before it to King Edward VI. and his own declaration upon it, paragraph by paragraph. In his epistle to the young king, he excited him, "to the love of English history: hinting to him the profit that arose by reading of antient stories (after the necessary search of the Bible) which that treatise of Leland, he said, would plenteously declare. They would teach him what is in each commonwealth to be followed, and what to be eschewed; what caused a realm to flourish, and what diminished the state therof. He took this occasion to reprehend papists, who dissuaded Christen princes from the study of the scriptures, and chronicles. Both which sorts of knowledge he exhorted the prince to; but especially to know the laws of God. He shewed him from Solomon, that the honor of a king stood not in strength and riches, but in the search of wholesome doctrin, to divide the dross from the silver, and to follow God's holy commandments." Then he armed the king against some sayings, that were then bruited abroad, as maxims for princes: as "That the doctrin of Christ was the cause of the decay of the commonwealth; which he shewed was a saying 1130 years ago, when Paulus Orosius was a writer; against which saying the author wrote seven notable books, as a confutation of that pernicious error. Yet (said Bale) is that unhappy and devilish opinion now raised up again from hell; and brought here into England by a great number of papists. Another ordinary saying among them was, that if any plague or punishment for sin happened upon the nation, then was the gospel wrongfully abused and noted, and to be the chief cause and stirrer up therof, when indeed it was rather their own fornication, bribery, and a thousand evils more. He observed also to the king, how they would usually say, 'It was never good world, since 'this new learning came in, neither are we like to 'have it, till it be banished again.' The true reason of which speech, he said, Christ shewed, namely,

‘ Every one that worketh wickedness doth abhor the
‘ light, because they will not their mischiefs therby
‘ to be known.’ For that light manifesteth to the
world their foul and naughty doings.” 1549.

He added, “ That these and other detestable
abuses, whose reformation chiefly belonged to a king,
might, as in a clear miroir, be seen in scripture and
chronicles. In them it might be seen, wherof they
arose, and how they might well by good order be
abolished. And therefore he reckoned, as he said,
the continual search of them to a Christen governor
most necessary.”

He proceeded to praise the king, “ That in his
princely beginning he appeared unto his people a
very Josias, both in his tender youth and vertuous
education ; and how their special hope was, that in
his daily proceedings he would still persevere in the
same : and that the likelihoods were very apparent.
For by his commandment had been taken away the
abominations of the ungodly : which was a plain
token, he said, that the king had directed his noble
heart to the living Lord, intending to set up his true
worship ; that being delivered out of the cruel hands
of their enemies, they might serve him from hence-
forth without fear all the days of their life. That
these godly principles refreshed his Christen subjects,
and so greatly delighted their obedient hearts, that
the only remembrance of his majesty’s name was to
them more pleasant, sweet and delicious, than any
other worldly pleasures, like as was the name of the
first Josias to the people of that age.” Thus by fre-
quent inculcation of good counsel, encouragement and
commendation, good men, in books dedicated to him,
spurred him on in the courses of good literature and
pure religion. p. 202. Ecclus 49.

In November, 1549, John Hoper set forth an ex-
position of the Decalogue (though printed, as it seems,
beyond sea the year before) intituled, “ A Declaration
of the Ten Holy Commandments of Almighty God,
wroten Exod. xx. Deut. v. collected out of the
Hoper’s
declaration
of the Ten
Command-
ments.

1549. Scripture Canonical;" in octavo. Before it was a preface to the reader, made by the author; wherein he treated concerning the Covenant (which he called the Alliaunce and Confederacy) between God and Man, in Adam and in Christ. Whence I shall excerpt some passages, shewing that reverend man's way of explaining certain abstruse and controverted points in divinity, somewhat different from other divines. He writ, "That as God accounted in Adam's sin, all mankind, being in his loins, worthy death, so he counted in Christ all to be saved from death; as Adam declared by the name of his wife, called Heva, the Mother of the Living, and not of the dead.—And as far extendeth the vertue and strength of God's promise to save men, as the rigor and justice of the law for sin to damn men.—And that the promise of grace appertaineth to every sort of men in the world, and comprehendeth them all; howbeit, within certain limits and bounds; the which if men neglect to pass over, they exclude themselves from the promise in Christ. As Cain was no more excluded, till he excluded himself, than Abel, Saul than David, Judas than Peter, Esau than Jacob; though by Mal. ii. and Rom. ix. it seemeth that the sentence of God was given to save the one, and to damn the other, before the one loved God, or the other hated God. Howbeit these threatnings of God against Esau, if he had not of his wilful malice excluded himself from the promise of grace, should no more have hindred his salvation, than God's threatnings against Nineveh, Jon. i. which, notwithstanding that God had said, should be destroyed within forty days, stood a great time after, and did penance. Esau was circumcised, and presented unto the church of God by his father Isaac, in all external ceremonies as well as Jacob. And that his life and conversation was not as agreeable unto justice and equity as Jacob's, the sentence of God unto Rebecca, Gen. 25, was not in the fault, but his own malice. For there is mentioned nothing at all in that place, Gen. 25,

that Esau was disherited of eternal life; but that he should be inferior unto his brother Jacob in this world. Which prophesie was fulfilled in their posterities, and not in the persons themselves," &c. 1549

And again, "St. Paul, Rom. ix. useth this example of Jacob and Esau for none other purpose, but to take away from the Jews the thing that they most put their trust in, viz. the vain hope they had in the carnal lineage and natural descent from the family and houshold of Abraham; and likewise their false confidence that they had in the keeping of the law of Moses. Paul's whole purpose is, in that epistle, to bring man unto the knowledge of his sin, and to shew him how it may be remitted; and with many testimonies and examples of scripture, he proveth man to be saved only by mercy, for the merits of Christ; which is apprehended and received by faith." And a little after, "It is our office therefore to see we exclude not ourselves from the general grace promised to all men. It is not a Christian's part to attribute his salvation to his own free-will with the Pelagian, and extenuate original sin, nor to make God the author of evil, or our damnation, with the Maniche: nor yet to say, God hath wrote fatal laws, as the Stoics, and with necessity of destiny violently pulleth one by the hair into heaven, and thrusteth the other headlong into hell. But ascertain thyself by scripture, what be the causes of reprobation, and what of election. The cause of rejection or damnation is sin in man; which will not hear nor receive the promise of the gospel; or else, after he hath received it, by accustomed doing of evil, he falleth either in a contempt of the gospel, will not study to live thereafter; or else hateth the gospel, because it condemneth his ungodly life, and would there were neither God nor gospel to punish him for doing of evil." p. 203.

"This sentence is true, howsoever men judge of *predestination*; God is not the cause of sin, nor would not have men sin, &c. The cause of our elec-

1549. tion is the mercy of God in Christ. Howbeit, he that will be partaker of this *election* must receive the promise in Christ by faith: for therefore we be elected, because afterward we are made the members of Christ, &c. So we judge of election by the event or success that happeneth in the life of man." This was the sum of the Preface.

His method, propounded in the Declaration of the Commandments, was, I. To shew what this word, *Law* or *Commandment*, meaneth. II. How the Law should be used. III. To prepare the reader's mind, that he may always read and hear these Commandments with fruit and commodity. IV. To interpret every Commandment severally, that the reader may perceive what God, the giver of the Law, requireth of every man that professeth his name. V. To answer certain objections that keep men from the obedience of God's Law.

Omphalius
de Usurpa-
tione Le-
gum.

Jacobus Omphalius dedicated a book to King Edward, printed at Basil, 1550; but the Dedication bears date, Cal. Jul. 1549, *Coloniæ Agrippinæ*. The title of the book was, "De Usurpatione Legum, et eorum Studiis, qui Jurisprudentiæ Professionem sibi sumunt." This Omphalius was a learned civilian and dependent upon Herman, the late pious archbishop and elector of Colen, and who was sent his agent into England.

The new
Book of
Ordination

p. 204.

Let me add, lastly, to the rest, that now first came forth the reformed order for *ordination*, entitled, "The Form and Manner of making and consecrating Archbishops, Bishops, Priests and Deacons." Where I observe this difference in the ordination of bishops; that the archbishop laid the Bible upon the neck of the ordained bishop, using these words, *Give heed to reading*, &c.; whereas now the book is only delivered to him with those words; and then the archbishop put the pastoral staff into his hand, saying, *Be thou to the flock of Christ a shepherd*, &c.; which are words still in use, but the ceremony of the staff laid aside.

And now to turn back our eyes, and take a prospect of this year, we may perceive the condition of this land to have now been very ill, by reason of the rebellions, the imprisonment of the good duke, and the courtiers, that sought themselves more than they took care of the public: beset with enemies abroad, and the king young: idleness and grudging among the people, who talked high, and were disposed to imagine and invent novelties, and devised mending this and that: base money was fain to go current; for the nation wanted money extremely, and provisions very dear at home, occasioned by the wars abroad in France, for the keeping of Bulloign; of which place the Lord Clynton was deputy, as the Lord John Grey was of Newhaven, and the Lord Cobham of Calais.

1549.
The ill
state of the
realm.

The French knew well enough the present condition of England, and boasted excessively to the Lord Paget, and the other English commissioners, as was shewn before.

The French
boast.

And to the rest of the calamities of the nation at this time we add the popish clergy, who were great underminers of the gospel: for they outwardly conformed themselves unto the king's proceedings, unto the English Communion Book, and the king's Injunctions; but inwardly preserved their good-will to their superstitions. There was one of the bishops that said, "Laws must be obeyed, and civil ordinances I will follow; but my heart in religion is free to think as I will." And the state thought convenient now to wink at them and their doings, and to continue them still in their places, lest they should remain void for want of better to supply their room. But many that favoured the gospel were for putting them out, as many as the visitors should find negligent and faulty in their duties, and to ordain sober laymen to succeed into their livings. "Out with them," said Latimer to the king; "I require it in God's behalf. Make them *quondams*, all the pack of them." He then told the king, that his majesty

Priests
comply
outwardly
only.

Latimer's
second ser-
mon before
the king.

1549. had divers of his chaplains, well learned men, and of good knowledge, to put in their room. And in case they were not enough to fill all the vacancies, and that neither his chaplains nor the protector's sufficed to furnish their places, he advised, that since there were a great sight of laymen well learned in the scripture, and of a virtuous and godly conversation, better learned than a great many of the clergy, them he would have to be placed in the church. And he said he knew a great number, that were, and would be glad, he dared to say, to minister the function, if called. He told the king, he moved it to him in conscience. Let them, said he, be called to it orderly. Let them have institution; and give them the name of the clergy. But this belongs rather to the year before.

Laymen to
be ordain-
ed mini-
sters.

An igno-
rant
preacher at
Paul's
Cross, call-
ed Sir
Stephen.
Stow's Sur-
vey.

p. 205.

And on the other hand, there were some great pretenders to the gospel, whose mixture of zeal and ignorance did true religion no service at all: which two things would betray themselves in their public sermons, even at Paul's Cross: for whatever care was taken, that that place should be supplied with able men, yet the realm was not yet so well furnished with good preachers, but that sometimes weak men got turns there. There was one more bold and hot, than wise and learned, named Sir Stephen, curate at Cree-church, London, came up at the Cross this year; who in his sermon fell foul upon the name of that parish church dedicated to St. Andrew, because it was surnamed *Undershaft*; so called, by reason of a vast long *shaft* or pole that formerly used to be erected on May Days in the street before the south door of that church, which reached higher than the steeple. And so St. Andrew was *under the shaft*: but the preacher, perhaps ignorant of this cause of St. Andrew's being thus called, cried out, that this *shaft* was made an idol of, as though it were preferred before St. Andrew himself. Hence he proceeded to advise, that the names of churches should be altered. And further, that the names of the days

of the week might be changed. And that there might be a thorough reformation indeed, he was for having the fish days kept any days but Fridays and Saturdays; and the Lent any time in the year, save only between Shrove-tide and Easter. To give some further account of this reformer; he would often forsake his pulpit, and go into the church-yard, and preach out of an high elm that grew there; and then entering into the church to perform the rest of the service, as was appointed in the English Communion Book, he would not go to the altar, where it was ever said, but would go and sing it upon a certain tomb of the dead that stood toward the north. And so we are told by one that lived at that time, and near the place.

1549.

CHAP. XXV.

The good service of learned foreigners in the business of religion. Disputations in the universities about religion.

BUT it forwarded religion not a little, the help that divers very learned and godly foreigners, now in the realm, brought by their readings and studies: for many leading professors and defenders of true religion were cherished here, chiefly by Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, who, as he encouraged them to come over, so was their great patron and harbourer. The chief of these were Peter Martyr, Peter Alexander, Bernardin Ochin, Immanuel Tremellius, Italians; Bucer and Fagius, Germans. All whom he made serviceable, by the direction of their learning, some way or other, to the furtherance of religion.

Divers
learned fo-
reigners in
England.

And first, as for Alexander he was much about the archbishop, and his clear head, and great industry withal, made him dear unto him. He was entertained in his family from the year 1547, and so forward for some years, until he became a prebendary of Canterbury, and had also the living of Allhallows,

Peter Alex-
ander.

1549. Lombard-street, conferred upon him by the said archbishop: by whose advice and exhortation he diligently read over the most antient fathers, and faithfully collected thence plenty of proper sentences, expressive of their sense concerning the various doctrines of religion; and particularly such as wherein consisted the modern controversies. One folio volume of these Collections, taken out of Dionysius, Ignatius, Irenæus, Tertullian and Cyprian, he presented this year to the archbishop; which he took in very good part at his hands, approving and commending his diligence therein, as tending to the profit of the church, and the benefit of the studious; which encouraged the said Peter to go on in the same method with the ecclesiastical writers, next in order of time to them; so that by April 1550, he presented the archbishop with another great folio of Notes extracted out of the works of Origen, Athanasius, and Epiphanius; before which he set an Epistle Dedicatory to the same, dated from Lambeth; which hath this conclusion:
- p. 206. *E MSS. Rev. Patr. D. Joh. Ep. Elien.* “Accipe igitur, reverendissime præsul, nostri Originis Adamantii, Athanasii et Epiphaniï sinceræ theologiae compendium; et hunc nostrum quemcunque laborem æqui bonique consule, nostrumque conatum grato animo persequere. Lambethi, 28. Aprilis, 1550. T. C. deditissimus Petrus Alexander.”

Which volume is among the rare collection of MSS. belonging to the Right Reverend Dr. More, late Bishop of Ely.

Becomes minister of the French church at Strasburgh If any would know what became of this man afterwards: being married in the beginning of Queen Mary's hard times he was unwillingly divorced from his wife by certain of that queen's commissioners, and soon after fled over to Strasburgh. Of whom Peter Martyr, in a letter to Utenhovius, dated from Strasburgh, June the 7th, 1556, writ, that he succeeded Garnerius in the French church there, and boldly taught the pure doctrine of the sacrament, which Martyr and others of his mind professed.

We have seen how the archbishop employed and rewarded him. All the rest had their employments in order to the promoting of truth and learning, some in the church, others in the universities. Ochin wrote and published some books. The two learned Germans were this year at Cambridge, Bucer, the king's reader of divinity, and Fagius. But Fagius died there but a few weeks after his coming; who being appointed the king's reader of Hebrew, by his deep skill and ability therein, might have vastly improved the students of divinity there in the knowledge of the sacred writings of the Old Testament; which are so necessary for the understanding of the New: a sort of learning then hardly known in England.

1549.

Fagius dies
at Cam-
bridge.

But upon his death Tremellius succeeded him in the same place. He fled from Italy when Peter Martyr his countryman did, and was one of those the archbishop gave lodging and board unto. His father being a Jew, he was brought up in Jewish learning, and had attained to great perfection in it. Tremellius now solicited at the court (I suppose, for his patent or salary;) Cecyl saw him, and took particular friendly notice of him, and undertook the care of his business. He was at this time mightily intent upon his study, employed therein from morning till night, to prepare for his readings; and therefore, lest his affairs might not be dispatched by his not attending them himself, he wrote a letter to Cecyl to remember them, in these words:

Tremellius
succeeds
him.

“ Etsi non dubitem, clarissime domine, ac patrone humanissime, te semper gravissimis negotiis occupari ac pœne obrui, confisus nihilominus charitati tuæ, qua totum te perpetuo fidelibus Christi impendis, ac singulari tuæ erga me benevolentia, quam nuper mihi in aula demonstrasti, hoc mihi nunc sumpsi, ut te rogarem, ne mei ob alia negotia curam remittas. Quin potius, quo me major premit necessitas, quoque minus valeo peregrinus, a mane ad vesperem,

p. 207.
Tremellius
to the
secretary.
MSS.
penes me.

1549. museo inclusus, mea in aula curare, eo te magis teneat memoria mei. Dominus, qui omnia videt, tibi cumulatissimè rependet. Quem oro, ut diutissime tuam humanitatem cum tota familia felicissime conservet. Tuæ humanitati addictissimus famulus,

IMMANUEL TREMELLIUS."

"Clarissimo Domino Dno. Sicilo Serenissimi Regis Angliæ, Secretario et patrono meo humanissimo. In Aula."

Cavelarius
reads He-
brew in
Cam-
bridge.

Rafe Cavelarius, or Cavalier, another stranger, native of France (to lay these matters together), in the year 1552 (if not before), did not so much succeed as assist Tremellius in reading Hebrew in that university: for which he was gratified by the state in a grant to be free denizon, and in the same patent to enjoy the advowson of a prebend in Canterbury, in consideration of reading the Hebrew lecture freely in Cambridge. This was dated in August, 1552.

Warr.
Book.

A prebend
to Tremel-
lius.

In October the same year, I find a grant to the said Tremellius, under the name of John Emanuel Tremelio, professor of the Hebrew tongue, of the prebend of Carlisle, which William Perry, deceased, late had. And the same month, another grant of a free denizenship for Emanuel Italo (as Tremellius is there stiled) and Elizabeth, his wife.

Warr.
Book.

Peter Mar-
tyr at
Oxon.

The Italian stranger, Peter Martyr, was designed to read divinity in Oxford, whither he repaired from the archbishop's, fortified by the king's authority: but, after a little time, very rudely treated and opposed there by a popish party.

Martyr's
sermon of
Fasting.

Yet, notwithstanding these oppositions and discouragements of Peter Martyr, the king's learned professor here at Oxford, he steadily went on in the business committed to his trust; and besides his public lectures, he sometimes preached at St. Mary's, and had his private lectures, and his private sermons, in Italian, at his house: whereunto resorted many auditors, and Harding one of the chief; however he revolted in Queen Mary's days. On one Ash-Wed-

Vit. Juell.

nesday he preached a public and seasonable sermon concerning *fasting*; wherein he first defined a fast, then divided it into parts, and distinguished all the kinds of fasting, shewed the necessity of it, unfolded the causes, taught the effects and benefits of it, and then excited the auditors most earnestly "to the keeping a true Christian fast; and accused and blamed, in many respects, the *pharisaical* and *papistical* fasting, wherby God was but superstitiously worshipped, a snare cast upon the consciences of the weak, and death, damnation, and the torments of hell, denounced, if any did not observe their frigid and pitiful constitutions, and if without their leave and licence any ate flesh and milk-meats, God's clean creatures, however moderately they did it, and soberly, with thanksgiving and sanctification of God's word, according to the apostle's rule. Then he prayed and beseeched them to stand fast in the liberty to which Christ had called them, and that none should judge others in meats and drinks; that, being redeemed from the weak and beggerly elements of the world, they became not the servants of men. And then, in a sad voice, he cried out, *Parcite sanguini Christi, parcite animabus vestris; i. e.* O! spare the blood of Christ, spare your own souls." And so came off with great applause and admiration of many, and among the rest, of Dr. Henry Cole, of New College, that was almost in an ecstasy at the hearing; yet one of the starters aside afterwards.

Parkhurst, a fellow of Merton, and an earnest professor of the gospel (afterwards Bishop of Norwich), was one of Martyr's great friends and acquaintance, and whom Parkhurst loved as his father. He, being removed from the university to the rich rectory of Cleve, in Gloucestershire, often invited him to come to his house to refresh himself: but Martyr could never find time to do it. There was a certain liquor made of rough pears, called *perry*, used much in the counties of Gloucester and Worcester, which the reverend man loved to drink when he was hot or fe-

1549.

p. 208.

Parkhurst,
a friend of
Martyr.

1549. verish : this his friend Parkhurst used to supply him with.

Martyr
and Bucer,
how they
differed in
the sacra-
ment.

Upon a challenge rudely given this professor, he entered the public lists in St. Mary's; the account whereof let other histories relate. But Martyr, June 15, wrote to Bucer concerning this his public disputation. Bucer, five days after, wrote again to him a letter in answer, dated from Canterbury, where he was with the archbishop, I suppose. By which letter may be judged, that there was some difference between Martyr's and Bucer's opinion in the matter of the *eucharist*, and what that difference was; for Martyr gave his questions thus :

" I. In sacramento eucharistiæ non est panis et vini transubstantiatio in corpus et sanguinem Christi.

" II. Corpus et sanguis Christi non est carnaliter aut corporaliter in pane et vino; nec, ut alii dicunt, sub speciebus panis et vini.

" III. Corpus et sanguis Christi uniuntur pani et vino sacramentaliter."

Now Bucer, in his letter, signified that he could have been glad Martyr had proposed his second question thus :

" Corpus Christi non continetur localiter in pane et vino, nec iis rebus affixum aut adjunctum est ulla mundi ratione."

And to the third, Bucer wished had been added,

" Ita ut credentibus Christus hic vere exhibeatur; fide tamen, nullo vel sensu, vel ratione hujus seculi, intuendus."

A disputa-
tion in
Christ's
Church,
Oxon.

And as thus in the public schools, so privately in the colleges, disputations were held. This same year 1549, at Christ's Church, happened a solemn disputation concerning *purgatory*, and praying for the dead. Then Chrysostom was produced, and some other fathers and learned writers, to assert, that this doctrine was upheld by the authority of the apostles, and that it ought therefore to be sacred to pious men, and piously believed and observed by all Christians: but Dr. Cox, dean of that college and church, replied,

Ex libr.
De Cælib.
per Ric.
Smith:
Lut. Paris,
1550, p.45.

Haud temerè subscribendum est iis, &c. i. e. "That 1549.
 we were not too hastily to subscribe to such things,
 which even the learnedest and most antient authors
 deliver to us, to have proceeded from the apostles:
 nor therefore to believe purgatory, because the apos-
 tles taught, that we should pray for the souls of the
 dead. And he proved it thus: The apostles, said he,
 delivered, that the souls of the dead might be helped
 by our prayers, and were to be helped; therefore p. 209.
 there is a purgatory, or we must believe, that the
 prayers of the living are profitable unto the dead.
 The conclusion is weak, since the apostles (added
 Cox) enjoined the Gentiles to abstain from blood,
 and strangled, as their Acts do shew; and yet that
 decree of theirs doth not bind us, who are Gentiles,
 to abstain from these." This is produced as Cox's
 argument, as it is crudely, and I suppose, disadvan-
 tageously and falsely set down by Dr. Richard Smith,
 the fickle papist. Whereat he cries out, *O! that*
man's blind mind, who yet would be accounted an
asserter of true doctrine, and a vindicator of godli-
ness: but how unworthy is he to be the chief of that
university! For he was the chancellor there.

Bucer also this year took his share of responding Bucer dis-
 in a public disputation in Cambridge, in behalf of the putes pub-
 truth, as Peter Martyr had done at Oxford. His licly at
 questions were, concerning *the sufficiency of the holy Cambridge.*
scriptures, of the fallibility of churches, and of justi-
fication by faith. But Yong, one of Bucer's oppo-
 nents, drew out the matter to a greater length; and
 a particular dispute was instituted between them after-
 wards, by a kind of challenge on Yong's side, as
 Smith of Oxford had done with Peter Martyr.

The controversy between Bucer and Yong was The con-
 thus: One of Bucer's questions was, *That the good troversy*
works which any seem to do before justification have between
the nature of sin. Hereat Yong took great offence, Bucer and
 and complained to the senate of the university against Yong
 him, saying, that Bucer was in a grievous error. But
 in Bucer's presence Yong spake not so much, but
 Buceri
 Scrip.
 Anglic.

1549. more mildly after this sort: that he, for his part, agreed not with Bucer, because the scripture and fathers spake otherwise. But Bucer, on the other hand, said, that he confessed and believed what the king's Homilies taught of good works. The issue was, that Yong entered the lists of disputation with the reverend man against his tenet. When the disputation was over, Yong and his party laboured to make as bad representations of Bucer as they could, to run the stranger down. Both of them penned their disputation: but Yong's paper, as Bucer affirmed, contained many falsities; and when Bucer desired to have it, it was denied him; whereas he offered his to all men to read and examine. The truth is, he was in some concern and fear, that misreports might be carried to the court and elsewhere to his disadvantage; therefore he sent a copy of his disputation to Cheke, to communicate to Ridley, now Bishop of London; and in August, 1550, wrote to Mr. Grindal, president of Pembroke Hall, and chaplain to the Bishop of London, "Desiring him to acquaint the bishop diligently with the truth of the case, as he had wrot it in the controversy between him and Yong, and having read himself what he (Bucer) had writ, to convey it safely to his lordship. He appealed to several his gravest auditors, and namely, Dr. Parker, Dr. Sands (who afterwards were both of them bishops), men that would deal faithfully (in their reports of his disputation); in like manner Dr. Busbe, the vice-chancellor. He applied himself to him (Grindal) who was, he said, a chief member of Christ, and his colleague in the most sacred office of ministering the word of God: entreating him to write to the Bishop of London in his matter, being visitor of the university, a doctor, a divine, and one of their college, and to obtain of him his advice what he (Bucer) should do; telling Grindal, that he feared he might be misrepresented by the papists: for, he said, they did with mervailous art strive to derogate from his ministry, whersoever they could do it; and
- p. 210.

do it they could, said he, with not a few, both gentlemen and others." Yong and his party could not but acknowledge, that they were pressed hard with the king's *Homilies*; and so, in effect, they confessed they made for Bucer against them. And yet these very *Homilies* they had subscribed to. Whereat the pious man cried out, *O hominum religionem! O incogitantes divini judicii animos!*—"O the religion of these men! O minds little mindful of God's judgment!" that will severely light upon such as lie and dissemble with him.

Besides these disputations of Bucer, the king's commissioners being at this university in a *visitation*, had the matter of *transubstantiation* largely discussed there before them by divers learned men on both sides; and after all, it was learnedly determined by Ridley, Bishop of Rochester, one of the visitors. Alban Langdale was one of the disputants in favour of the popish opinion, who, for his zeal, became Archdeacon of Chichester under Queen Mary. This man composed a pretended confutation of Bishop Ridley's determination, and printed it at Paris. The *privilegium regium*, to authorize the printing of it, was dated the vii. of the ides (that is, the seventh day) of February, 1553; but it was not printed till three years after, when Langdale was secure that Ridley could make no reply. His method was, that first Ridley's determination was set down, and then Langdale's confutation followed. The Epistle Dedicatory was to Sir Anthony Brown, wherein he pretended to give a particular account of the managing of this dispute. But Pilkington, then of St. John's, who was another of these disputants (afterwards Bishop of Durham), in a printed book of his, shewed, how Ridley's determination at that time gave great satisfaction to the students; where, giving account of this matter, he writes, "That Dr. Ridley, Bishop of Rochester, came in visitation to Cambridge, and because the doctrine of the sacrament seemed then strange to many, he propounded this proposition at

1549.

Disputa-
tion at
Cam-
bridge be-
fore the
visitors.

N. Battely.

1549. that time to the whole university to dispute upon: *That it could not be proved by any ancient writer, Greek or Latin, which lived a thousand years since, or within five hundred years after Christ, that the substance of the bread was changed in the sacrament to the substance of Christ's body.* Disputation being ended, the bishop made all things so clear in his determination, that they were so convinced, that some of them would have turned Archbishop Cranmer's book of that subject into Latin," &c.

The king's
letters, for
use of the
Common
Prayer.

Regist.
Thirl.

p. 211.

The use of the Common Prayer in English, lately enacted by parliament, was twice this year (1549) pressed by special letters of the king and his council, upon the governors of the church, to see it duly observed in all their churches: for it was not performed so universally, nor regularly, as it should have been. In the month of July this command was issued from the king, then at his manor of Richmond, to Thirleby, Bishop of Westminster: importing, "That after great and serious debating and long conference of sundry the bishops, and other grave and well-learned men in the holy scriptures, one uniform order for Common Prayers and Administration of the Sacraments had been, and was, most godly set forth, not only by the common agreement and full assent of his nobility and commons in the late parliament, but also by the like assent of the bishops in the same parliament, and by all other learned men of this realm in their synods and convocations provincial: like as it was much to his comfort to understand the godly travail then diligently and willingly taken, for the true opening of things mentioned in the said book, wherby the true service and honour of Almighty God, the right administration of the sacraments, being well and truly set forth, according to the scriptures, and use of the primitive church, much idolatry and vain superstition was taken away; so it was no small occasion of sorrow to him to understand, by the complaints and informations of many, that our said book, so much travailed for and so sincerely set forth, &c. remained

in many places of his realm, either not known at all, or not used, or at least very seldom, and in irreverent sort; as the people in many places either had heard nothing, or if they heard, they neither understood, or had that spiritual delectation in the same, as to good Christians appertained." 1549.

And then the king proceeded to lay the fault of all this upon them, the bishops and priests, or some of them. And then, "That considering that by that and such like occasions, his loving subjects remained in their old blindness and superstitious errors; and in some places in an irreligious forgetfulness of God; wherby his wrath might be provoked against him and them: and remembring withal, that among other cures committed to his princely charge, he thought this the greatest, to see his glory and true service of him maintained and extolled, by whose clemency he acknowledged himself to have all that he had: that he could not therefore, but by the consent and advice of his uncle, Edward, Duke of Somerset, governor of his person, and protector of his realms, &c. and the rest of his privy council, admonish him (the bishop) of the premisses: wherin, as it had been their offices to have used an earnest diligence, and to have reformed the same in all places within his diocess, as the case required; so had he (the king) thought good to pray and require him; and nevertheless straightly to charge and command him, that from henceforth he should have an earnest and special regard to the redoube of these things; so as the curats might do their duty oftener, and in more reverend sort; and the people be occasioned by the good advices and examples of them, their chancellors, archdeacons, and other inferior ministers, to come with oftener and more devotion to their said common prayer; to give thanks to God, and be partakers of the most holy communion: wherin, shewing themselves diligent, and giving good example in their own persons, they should both discharge their duties to the great Pastor (to

1549. whom we must all have to account) and also do him (the king) good service.

p. 212. “ And of the other side, if he should hereafter, these his letters and commandments notwithstanding, have eftsones complaint, and find like faults in his diocess, he should have just cause to impute therof, and of all that should ensue therof unto him ; and consequently be occasioned therby to see otherwise to the redress of these things—wherof we would be sorry. And therefore we do eftsones charge and command you, upon your allegiance, to look well upon your duty herein, as ye tender our pleasure. Yeven under our signet at our manour at Richmond, the 23d of July, the 3d year of our reign.”

This letter was directed, “ To the right reverend father in God, our right trusty and welbeloved, the Bishop of Westminster.” Mr. Fox, in his Martyrology, supposed this letter was writ only to Bishop Boner, reprimanding him for his negligence ; but meeting with it in the register of another bishop, I conclude it was a common letter to them all. In the same register it appears, how obedient he was to the king’s said will and pleasure.

The
bishop’s
order to
his arch-
deacon
upon the
king’s let-
ters.

For accordingly he executed the said letters to his brother, the Archdeacon of Middlesex, and to his official, &c. certifying them of the said letters, and the import of them : “ And that he was right well willing and desiring, that the said letters of the king should in all points be duely executed, according to the tenor and import of the same ; therfore charged him diligently, considering the effect and words of the same letters, that from henceforth, withal diligence, wisdom and dexterity, to travail earnestly as well in his own person, for and concerning the due observing and accomplishing of the said letters ; as also with like diligence, wisdom and dexterity, to monish and command all persons, vicars, curats, churchwardens, to observe and accomplish the same from time to time. And charging them to make cer-

tificate therein to him, or his chancellor; and also of the persons, or names of such as henceforth should be found negligent in doing their duties in the premisses. Given at his house at Henden, the 28 of July, 1549.

The said Bishop of Westminster also appointed George Cragges his apparitor; "That wheras he, the bishop, had received the king's letters concerning the due observation and uniform order of common prayer, and ministration of the sacraments, now of late most godly set forth; and desiring the said letters should in all things be executed: therfore to monish and command all persons and vicars and churchwardens, to appear personally before him, or his chancellor, or his deputy, in the cathedral church of St. Peter's, Westminster, and in the consistory place there, on the first of August next; to see and hear the contents and purposes of the said letter, to be further opened, and effectually declared unto them: and further to do and receive, for the due accomplishing and observing of the same." Thus did Bishop Thirleby go along with the reformation in King Edward's reign.

His order
to his ap-
paritor.
Regist.
Thirlb.

Again five months after, in the month of December, the king sent his letters to this bishop, as well as to the rest; urging again the strict observation of the Common Prayer; and that upon a particular occasion. The troubles that now the good Duke of Somerset, the protector, fell into, gave great hopes to the popishly affected subjects, that the old mass would come into use again, and the Common Prayer be cast off; as depending chiefly (as they supposed) upon the authority and sway of the protector, the main ruling cause of bringing it into the church. Therefore the king in his letter thought fit to take notice of it, namely, "How some persons, upon the apprehension of the duke, had noised and bruited abroad, that they should have again their old Latin service, their conjured bread and water, with such like vain and superstitious ceremonies; as though the setting forth

The king
again to
the bishops
for the use
of the
Common
Prayer.

1549, of the latter Book of Common Prayer had been the only act of the forenamed duke.

p. 213.

“Therefore, by the advice of the body and state of his privy council, not only considering the said book to be his own act, and the act of the whole state of the realm; but also the same to be grounded upon holy scripture, according to the order of the primitive church, and tending much to the edifying of his subjects; to put away all such vain expectation of having the publick service, &c. in the Latin tongue, which were a preferring of ignorance to knowledge, and darkness to light, &c. he (the king) thought good to require him (the bishop) and nevertheless to charge him, immediately upon the receipt hereof, to command the dean and prebendaries of his cathedral church, and the parson, vicar and curat, and churchwarden of every parish, to deliver to him, or his deputy, all antiphoners, missals, grails, processions, manuals, &c. after the use of Sarum, Lincoln, York, Bangor, Hereford, and all other books of service; the keeping wherof should be a let to the usage of the Book of Common Prayer; and those books to deface and abolish, that they never after might serve to any such use, as they were at first provided, and be at any time a let to the godly uniform order. And that if he (the bishop) should find any person stubborn and disobedient in not bringing in the said books, to commit them to ward, unto such time as he should have certified him (the king) of his misbehaviour. He commanded further, that search should be made from time to time, whether any such books were withdrawn or hid, contrary to the tenor of these letters.

“And whereas divers froward and obstinate persons had refused to pay for the finding of bread and wine for the holy communion, by reason whereof the holy communion was many times omitted upon the Sunday, these letters willed and commanded him, the bishop, to convent such obstinate persons before him, and them to admonish to keep the order prescribed; and, that if any refused, to punish them by suspen-

sion, excommunication, or other censures of the church. And not to fail thus to do, as he would avoid his (the king's) displeasure. Yeven under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the third year of our reign." It was signed by Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, R. Rich, lord chancellor, and four others. 1549.

These letters I have shortened, because I find there is a copy of them taken out of another register, and entered into the History of the Reformation. Hist. Ref. vol. ii. Coll. p. 191.

Here again, the Bishop of Westminster, to whom these letters were given, accordingly duly executed them by his letter to his Archdeacon of Middlesex, Richard Eden; and further commanded all his clergy to meet him or his chancellor, at the cathedral church of St. Peter, to receive his commandment in that behalf. Dated the 28th of Decemb. 1549. The bishop's orders hereupon.

The conclusion of the registry of this bishop is, "*Notandum est*, the first day of April, 1550, and the fourth of the king, the episcopal see of Westminster was dissolved, and restored, and united to the see of London." Bishoprick of Westminster dissolved.

CHAP. XXVI. p. 214.

Order for sermons. Joan of Kent promotes Arianism. The English Communion Book reformed.

IN the month of April, 1550, it was ordered, that whosoever should have ecclesiastical benefices granted them by the king, should preach before him, in or out of Lent: and that every Sunday there should be a sermon made at court. 1550. Sermons appointed at court.

Arianism now shewed itself so openly, and was in such danger of spreading farther, that it was thought necessary to suppress it by using more rugged methods than seemed agreeable to the merciful principles of the professors of the gospel. One Joan Bocher, or Knel, commonly called Joan of Kent, being con-

Joan of Kent, her condemnation.

1550. demned for this heresy the latter end of the last year, a warrant, dated April 27, was issued, by order of council, to the lord chancellor, to make out a writ to the sheriff of London for her execution (to be burned) for certain detestable opinions of heresy. These are the words of the Council Book. The Archbishop of Canterbury was not then present at the council board, the Bishop of Ely was. After her condemnation she was kept a great while, in hope to reclaim her. April 30, the Bishops of London and Ely were with her to persuade her, but she withstood them; and even at her execution, which was May 2, she reviled him that then preached (who was Dr. Scory), as the king writes in his Journal.

Council
Book.

And exe-
cution.

Some ac-
count of
this wo-
man.

Ward
Word,
p. 16.

If any be minded to hear more of this woman, he may be informed by Parsons, that she was at first a great disperser of Tindal's New Testaments, translated by him into English, and printed at Colen, and was a great reader of scripture herself; which books she also dispersed in the court, and so became known to certain women of quality, and was more particularly acquainted with Mrs. Anne Ascue. She used, for the more secresy, to tie the books in strings under her apparel, and so pass with them into the court. The said author writes, that she was openly reported to have been dishonest of her body, with base fellows; which I charitably suppose might be but a calumny, too common with Parsons.

Her words
to her
judges.

When she was condemned to die for her denial of Christ's taking flesh of the blessed Virgin, she said to the judges, "It is a goodly matter to consider your ignorance. It was not long ago since you burned Ann Ascue for a piece of bread: and yet came yourselves soon after to believe and profess the same doctrine for which you burned her; and now, forsooth, you will needs burn me for a piece of flesh, and in the end you will come to believe this also, when you have read the scriptures, and understand them." When she came to die in Smithfield, and Dr. Scory endeavoured to convert her, she scoffed at him, and

said, "He lyed like a rogue;" and bad him "Go, 1550.
read the scriptures."

The day after this woman's condemnation, was one Putto, a tanner, of Colchester, brought before the king's commissioners. He was either of her opinion, or an anabaptist. For these commissioners were appointed to sit upon enquiry after these sectaries chiefly. But Putto recanted; and bare a faggot at Paul's Cross, and after that at Colchester. Putto does penance. p. 215.

For some remembrance of the Book of Public and Common Prayer, which about this time underwent a diligent inspection and reformation, by some of the bishops, take these short hints of it. In the calendar for the lessons were no proper lessons for Sundays and holydays, but only proper Psalms for the four great festivals, viz. Christmas, Easter, Ascension, and Whitsunday. The book began with the Lord's Prayer, ushered in with this rubric, "The priest being in the quire, shall begin with a loud voice the Lord's Prayer, or the *Pater Noster*." The Confession and Absolution were first added in the revised edition, as the German protestant churches had their Confession and Absolution. At the end of the former book were inserted several rules with this title, "Certain Notes for the more plain Explication and decent Ministration of Things contained in this book. One of these rules and notes is this, If there be a sermon, or for other great cause, the curate by his discretion may leave out the Litany, *Gloria in Excelsis*, the Creed, T'homily, and the Exhortation to the Communion." Another rule is, "That whensoever the bishop shall celebrate the holy communion in the church, or execute any other public ministration, he shall have upon him, beside his rochet, a surplice or albe, and a cope or vestment, and also his pastoral staff in his hand, or else born or holden by his chaplain." Another rule was, "As touching kneeling, crossing, holding up of hands, knocking upon the breast, and other gestures, they may be left or used, as every man's devotion seemeth, without blame." The last Alterations made in the English Book.

1550. note is this, "And although it be read in antient writers, that the people many years past received at the priest's hands the sacrament of the body of Christ in their own hands, and no commandment of Christ to the contrary; yet, forasmuch as they many times conveyed the same secretly away, kept it with them, and diversly abused it to superstition and wickedness, lest any such thing hereafter should be attempted, and that an uniformity might be used throughout the whole realm, it is thought convenient the people commonly receive the sacrament of Christ's body in their mouths, at the priest's hand." But this last, and other things, were thought fit to be altered afterwards.

For which
the papists
upbraid
the pro-
testants.

The papists imagined they had a mighty advantage over the protestants, for this reviewing, purging, and correcting the English book; upbraiding them with that which the good reformers took so much satisfaction in having done; that is, laying aside some needless ceremonies that escaped them before, and retrenching the book of such things as looked too like superstition, and which the times would not bear to be wholly taken away at once, or which perhaps, at first, were not so well perceived; and our reformers looked upon themselves as fallible men. Though even the first Communion Service and the first Book of public Prayers struck off abundance of superstitions, and reduced the service of God to the primitive pattern, and the rule of God's word, yet they never looked upon it so perfect, but that it might admit of amendment and improvement. But in this the papists vainly triumphed, as though hereby they were inconsistent to themselves, and contradicted what they approved before. Thus Dorman, in his book, wrote towards the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, fondly bespeaks Bishop Jewel, "Call to your remembrance the changing, and turning in and out of your Communion Book: how the first was pressed for uniformity, to be agreeable to Christ's institution, and the usage of the primitive church; and yet, in how short a

p. 216.

Proof, fo.
117 b.

space, that being taken away, you brought in a new, 1550.
to the first in the principal points clean contrary: to
Christ's institution, and the order nevertheless of the
primitive church as agreeable, just as was the first;
and yet that, whether it be in all points as ye mind
to have it squared and trimmed, yourselves and your
companions perhaps can tell. Wise men, that know
the nature of heresy, and have observed the practice
and order of your proceedings, think verily, no."

This book, by such great wisdom and learning de-
vised and improved, and so intelligible and edifying,
in comparison with the former Latin mass, yet could
not as yet down every where. For even the old super-
stitions of the sacrament were much used in the ad-
ministration of it; and even in St. Paul's, London,
the communion was used as the mass, whereof infor-
mation and complaint was made to the council.

Communion in
Paul's
used with
the super-
stition of
the mass.

And one impediment, why this godly office took
not place more universally was, because the old office
books still remained. There were still the Missals,
Manuals, Pies, Portuisses, Primers, Processionals,
Couchers, Journals, and I cannot tell what other
names of the old popish services remaining. And,
where the priest stood affected that way, the books and
offices being so near at hand, he would make use of
them; and understanding perhaps better to mumble
over that Latin, than to read the English book. Of
which so much notice was taken, and so much of-
fence given, that, in the third and fourth of King Ed-
ward's reign, an act of parliament commanded them
all to be abolished and extinguished for ever: and
accordingly were called in, as was shewed before.

CHAP. XXVII.

Ridley made Bishop of London. His exchange of lands with
the king. Insurrections. A Dearth. Prices set upon victuals.

RIDLEY, Bishop of Rochester, was, in the month
of April, this year, translated to the see of London,

Ridley
translated
to London.

1550.
Registr.
Ridley.

by the king's letters patents ; mentioning an act of parliament, taking away the *Conge delire*, and empowering the king to nominate any bishop by his letters patents, to any see. In this letter is mentioned at large the dissolution of the bishoprick of Westminster.

Installed.

p. 217.

Saturday, April the 12th, the said bishop was installed and enthronized by proxy. His proxy was Richard Wilkes, clerk, before William May, Dean of St. Paul's ; John Cardmaker, alias Taylor, present, now vicar of St. Brigit's, Fleet-street, one of the commissaries for the expedition of the business of the installation. After the installation, was sung the *Te Deum*, in English, with organs playing, and the choir singing. Then Dean May sung some versicles, and then said this prayer in English : " O Lord, Almighty God, we beseech thee, grant to thy servant Nicolas, our bishop, that by preaching and doing those things which be godly, he may both instruct the minds of his diocesans with true faith, and example of good works : and, finally, receive of the most merciful Pastor the reward of eternal life ; who liveth with thee and the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen."

An exchange of
lands between the
king and
the Bishop
of London.

In this fourth year of the king, Ridley, Bishop of London, April 12th (that is but nine days after he had taken his oath for the bishoprick) was fain to alienate to the king divers lands and manors, belonging to his see, in exchange for others of the like value, which the king made over to him and his successors, by letters patents bearing date the same day and year. The lands which the said bishop conveyed to the king were the manors of Branktree and Southminster, and the advowson and right of patronage of the vicarage of Coggeshal, in the county of Essex : and the manors of Stebunheath and Hackney, and the marsh of Stebunheath in the county of Middlesex. The lands which the king passed away to the bishops in lieu hereof, were the manors of Greenford, Hanwel, and Drayton, in the county of Middle-

sex lately parcels of the possessions of the bishoprick of Westminster dissolved; and all the lands, tenements and hereditaments in Uxbridge in the said county, parcels of the said bishoprick: and all and singular the messuages, houses, edifices, tenements, gardens, shops and hereditaments in the parishes of St. Leonard, Foster-lane, St. Michael in the Querne, and St. Dunstan's in the East, late parcels of the aforesaid possessions: and the manors of Ashwel, Stevenage, Holwel, Todwel, and Dacheworth, and the rectory and church of Ashwel, in the county of Hertford; all parcels of the aforesaid bishoprick: and the manors of Fering, Kelvedon and Fawnton: and the rectories and churches of Fering and Kelvedon, in the county of Essex, late parcels of the said bishoprick: the manor of Knowl in the county of Warwick, parcel of the said bishoprick: the manor, rectory and church of Rickmansworth, in the county of Hertford, lately belonging to the monastery of St. Alban's: the manor of Paddington, in the county of Middlesex, lately belonging to the monastery of Westminster: the house commonly called, *The Convict Prison of Westminster*; the advowsons, donations and presentations of Hanwel, and the chapel of Brainford, and the vicarage of the church of St. Martin's near Charing Cross; and of divers other churches. Churches and lands being in Middlesex, London, Hertford, Essex, Warwick, Lincoln, Rutland, Oxon, Northampton, Huntingdon, Surrey, Gloucester, Berks and Wigorn. All which extended to the clear yearly value of 526-19-9q.

But the king made this exchange not for himself, but to gratify certain of his courtiers. For April 16th, that is, four days after the bishop had granted his lands to the king, he again granted by his patents,

To Sir Thomas Darcy, vice-chamberlain of his houshold, the manor of Southminster, of the value of §194 12 2

1550.

Brought over . . .	§194	12	2
To Richard, Lord Rich, lord chancellor of England, the manor of Branktree, and the advouson of Coggeshall, of the value of . . .	§39	13	4
To Thomas, Lord Wentworth, lord chamberlain of the houshold, the manors of Stebunheath and Hackney, of the value of . . .	§245	18	3 obq.
	480	3	9 obq.

Confirma-
tion of
them by
act of par-
liament.

And in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, the aforesaid assurance, made by the bishop to the king, was confirmed by act of parliament; and also those lands by the said act were assured to the Lord Wentworth, the Lord Rich, and Sir Thomas Darcy, and their heirs. In this act it is expressed, "That the king being seized of the aforesaid manors, lands and tenements, in consideration of the said gift, and for a full recompence, did give by his letters patents unto the Bishop of London and his successors for ever, other manors, lands and tenements, to the yearly value therof and more." And indeed the king's lands, made over to the bishop, exceeded the lands made over by the bishop to the king in forty-six pounds odd money. This may serve to stop their mouths, that are apt to blame Bishop Ridley for parting with such fair manors as Stepney and Hackney from the see. And Stow, or some of his enlargers after him, to aggravate this gift, and make all people that read it the more ready to blame him, do set down all the particular streets, lanes, townships and places within these manors, to make his gift seem the greater, and the wrong done to the bishoprick the more hainous. Whereas neither the king nor the bishop were to be blamed for this, the advantage of the exchange being considerably on the bishop's side. And therefore to make an equivalent, certain rents to the value of an hundred pounds were reserved to the king.

In the further parts of Essex were many earnest gossellers. And for their better edification they procured preachers sometimes to preach to them on the week days. The report whereof came to the court; and that, as it appears, by the information of the Lord Rich, lord chancellor, not so well affected to the religion then settled, however politically he complied with the time; whose seats were at Lees and Rochford, and his estate lying thereabouts. These weekly meetings to hear sermons, the council upon some suggestions (it is likely of his) of the inconvenience thereof, as being an hinderance of the common people's necessary labours, did forbid. And in order to that, a letter was addressed to the Bishop of London, to cause the same practices to cease, and that the people should content themselves with hearing sermons on Sundays and Holy Days only. The letter was as follows:

1550.

Weekly
sermons
forbid.

"To our very good lord, the Bishop of London. After our right harty commendations unto your lordship. Being advertised from the lord chancellor, that divers preachers within your diocess, in the county of Essex, do preach as well the worky days as the holy days; wherof some inconveniences may grow: thinking it not convenient, that the preachers should have liberty so to do; because at this present it may increase the people's idleness, who of themselves are so much disposed to it, as all the ways that may be divised are little enough to draw them to work: we therefore pray you to take order, that they preach the holy days only, as they have been accustomed to do. And the work days to use those prayers, that are prescribed unto them. Thus we bid your good lordship most hartely farewell. From Greenwich, the 23d of June, 1550.

By the
council's
letter to
the bishop.

p. 219.

Your loving friends,

*E. Somerset, W. Northampton, E. Clynton.**G. Cobham. W. Paget. W. Harbart.**W. Petre."*

1550.
The Bishop
of London's
order
thereupon.
Regist.
Ridl.

Accordingly, the bishop sent his executory letters to the Archdeacon of Colchester; to will him with convenient expedition, not only to give warning to all curates within his archdeaconry, that they suffer not preaching on work days in their churches, but also to send for all and singular preachers, authorized within the said archdeaconry, and admonish them of the same: charging them in the king's highness's name, that from henceforth they do not preach, but only upon Sundays and Holydays, and none other days, except it be at any burial or marriage. And thus fare you hartily well. From London, the 25th of June, 1550.

Your loving friend,
NIC. LOND.

Peace with
France.

A perpetual peace made with France was declared by proclamation, May 28th, in which peace was the emperor and the Q. of Scots comprehended.

A tumult
intended in
Kent.
King Ed-
ward's
Journal.

As the last year a formidable rebellion happened in the Western parts, so in April, this year, an insurrection was setting on foot in Kent, by a priest of that county; which insurrection was to have begun on May-day; for the popish priests, in zeal to their old superstitions, were generally the movers of sedition and tumults in King Henry's and King Edward's reigns. So that the commotions last year in Devonshire, Norfolk and Yorkshire, were not so well allayed, but they had like to have broke out this year in Kent. But the matter was discovered timely, and several of the seditious were taken, and the priest fled into Essex: but was there laid for. Nor did this design of rising yet cease, with the taking off some of the parties. For the next month, viz. in that of May, upon pretence of a wedding, the people were to assemble, and take that opportunity of appearing in arms; but the gentlemen of Kent took the party that was the inventor of this: and afterwards he suffered punishment.

Were it not for the great watchfulness that was

now in the magistrates every where, a rising would have about this time appeared in Essex also. For in June certain were taken about Rumford, who intended an insurrection: and so it was stopped there.

1550.
Insurrec-
tion in-
tended in
Essex.

Others also of the said county of Essex gave at this very time a jealousy to the council for their too unseasonable meetings in numbers on week days for hearing of sermons. What dangers might lie, and what evil be hatched under colour of these assemblies of the people was somewhat suspected; which made the council send a letter to the Bishop of London to suppress them; as was shewn before.

Sermons on
work days
forbid in
Essex.
p. 220.

An order of council happening just about this time concerning bishops, I will here insert it; which was, that none henceforth should hold *commendams*, excepting one granted at the same time by them to Bishop Poinet. "June 29, Upon consideration that Mr. Poynt now elected Bishop of Rochester, hath no house to dwell upon, it is agreed that he shall enjoy his benefice in *commendam*. But henceforth it is decreed, that no bishop shall keep other benefice than his bishoprick only."

No com-
mendams
allowed.

As the commons were upon these dangerous points in Kent and Essex, as was said before, so there were some jealousies of tumults in Sussex also. So that there was a privy search appointed to be made through that county for vagabonds, gypsies, conspirators, prophesiers and players, and such like. Who probably under such disguises met together, laid their plots, and inticed the people to novelties.

Searches to
be made in
Sussex.

And this was but in pursuance of a proclamation set forth, May 17th last past; shewing how several ill-disposed persons had lately attempted and gone about in conventicles and secret places in the realm, where they durst speak their pleasure, and determined and conspired sundry evil facts, enterprizes and disorders, tending to rebellion, murder and unlawful assemblies: but the said determinations had come to the king's knowledge, to the subduing and destruction of such persons, and as many as willingly took

A procla-
mation
against se-
ditionous per-
sons.

1550. part with them. Wherefore, for the discovery of the remainders of these seditious persons, the king promised the reward of twenty pounds, and thanks to any that should make discovery of any such attempts, and make the same known to him, or his privy council, or to the lieutenant of the county, where any such thing should be intended, moved or determined. And any person was to have the said reward, though he were before one of the conspiracy.

Duke of Somerset goes into the West. King Edw. Journal.

In July the Duke of Somerset (who the beginning of this year got over his troubles, but with great loss of his offices and estate) was sent down into Oxfordshire, Sussex, Wiltshire and Hampshire, to secure those places from rising; and so to take order for the keeping of peace. And in August he went to Reding for the same purpose. The reason of most of these present jealousies were upon account of the Lady Mary, who was privately to be conveyed out of England from some creek in Essex, by Shipperius, admiral of the navy, belonging to the emperor. And then an open war was to be begun, and an intestine conspiracy to be at home, as Sir Thomas Chamberlain, ambassador with the Queen of Hungary in the Low Countries, had learned at that court, and advertised hither.

A great dearth.

The dearth before mentioned continued all along this year, all provisions being at high rates; which lay very heavy upon the poorer sort: which gives me occasion to conjecture, that this was the year wherein happened a great drought, that made great fears of a famine. Whereupon a publick fasting day was appointed, and a prayer was composed, and ordered to be used in the churches at that time, that God would send rain: and the rather, because the enemies of the Reformation were apt to lay the cause of this judgment upon the Reformation. See it in the Repository, as I found it in Fox's MSS.

p. 221.

KK. Idle persons to depart from London.

The king and council took especial care for the removing of this calamity now laying upon the nation. And first, for the ease of the city of London in this

dear time, it was thought expedient to clear it of as many poor needy persons as could be. Therefore the king by proclamation, dated May 4, commanded all persons of what state or degree soever, being the king's natural subjects, not born within the city or borough of Southwark, or the liberties, nor being householders, nor having sufficient to live by, nor that had lived there by the space of three years together now last past, nor retained in any service with any person, nor applying themselves to any bodily labour, and taking wages for the same; should forthwith depart out of the city, borough and liberties, and return to their native countries, or the places where they last dwelt, by the space of three years together, according to the tenor of a statute in that behalf, concerning the order of aged impotent people, and for punishing vagabonds and idle persons. 1550.

And for the easing of the city still of more of her unnecessary guests, on 20 July, the king by his proclamation commanded all captains, officers of bands and soldiers, as well English, as strangers of what nation soever, which are not presently entertained in the king's wages, and had been paid for their service by treasurers thereunto appointed, according to their capitulations, until the day of their cassing and dismissal; that they failed not to depart and avoid the city, the suburbs and the members of the same, within three days after the proclamation published, upon pain of suffering strait imprisonment, with further punishment at the king's pleasure. And soldiers disbanded.

And to stop the conveying of provisions out of the land (which was another cause of the high prices set upon them) a proclamation came forth, May the 7th, commanding that none, upon pain of imprisonment, and of other forfeitures according to the laws of the land, should carry and convey into the parts beyond seas, any kind of beef, mutton, veal, lamb, pork, butter, cheese, corn, grain, wood, coals, ale, beer, tallow, hides, or any other kind of victual, except Provisions not to be exported.

1550. only to the town of Calais, and the castles of Guisnes and Hammes. And charge was given to all the king's customers, comptrollers, searchers, &c. to make diligent search for the better furtherance of the king's *most high and dreadful commandment*, as the phrase was. And this proclamation to continue till the feast of All Saints.

Forbad
again.

Within two months after (the former commandment, through the covetousness of some merchants and others, not being sufficiently obeyed) another proclamation, dated July 3, was issued forth, charging that no sort of victual, corn, beer, wools, fells, leather, hides, tallow, belmetal, wood or coal, should be shipped or transported into foreign parts out of the realm (the town of Calais only excepted) until the king should hereafter allow the same; upon pain of confiscation of the goods and forfeiture of the ship.

Forbid
again.

And the reason hereof was given, because of late years the said commodities had been reduced to a great scarcity, and to an unwonted excessive price; the cause whereof to no one thing might sooner be imputed, than that now commonly those commodities which ought especially to serve the turn, and be employed to the use and sustentation of the subject, were in over-large measures conveyed into foreign regions, as well by colour of licences unlawfully used, as by stealth and covert. And in the preface the king shewed his princely compassion to his people, "Calling to remembrance how, according to the regal power and state to him committed by Almighty God over his realm, nothing could better declare his zeal and affection born toward the commonwealth, than when by all good means such orders proceeded from his majesty as might best tend to the general plenty of things needful, for the commodious living of his natural subjects; and namely, such things as were brought forth, and given us of God, as the peculiar commodities of this realm, might be enjoyed by the subjects of the same, to their utility and mutual

p. 222.

Forbid
again.

benefit among themselves, in plentiful sort and cheapness of price, before others, according as in ancient time had been accustomed." 1550.

But this dearness still continuing in the realm (notwithstanding all these former endeavours) partly by reason of conveyance of commodities beyond sea, and partly by men's buying up of corn in the markets, to be sold again; and also by not bringing any quantities to the market, the king issued out yet another proclamation, dated Sept. 24, signifying in the preface thereof, "How the insatiable greediness of divers ill-natured people, neither minding the due observation of good laws, nor any preservation of natural societies within their own country, and contrary to the provision of divers good laws and statutes, by frequent unlawful exportation of victuals, and by many detestable frauds and covins, had occasioned great scarcity and unreasonable prizes of victuals:" and therefore he first commanded, "That no person should, after eight days ensuing the proclamation, transport into Scotland, or elsewhere, wheat, malt, rye, barley, pease, beans, oats, or any kind of grain, or the meals of any of the same, beefs, muttons, veals, cheese, butter, tallow, candles, beer, ale, bisket, leather, salt, hides, wood, wool, fells. But if at any time of shipping or transporting the premisses, corn were of such a particular price, then it should be lawful for the king's subjects to carry over grain at pleasure: that is,

	s.	d.	
Wheat,	at, or under	6	8 per quarter.
Malt of the best sort,		5	0 ditto.
Beans and pease,		4	0 ditto.
Oats,		3	4 ditto.
Rye,		5	0 ditto."

Item, That no person after eight days should buy in open market, or otherwise, to be sold again, any wheat, malt, barley, rye, pease, oats, beans, or any kind of meals, upon pain of forfeiture of the same

1550. grain, and the moiety of their goods, chattels, leases and farms for term of life; excepting brewers and bakers, innkeepers and innholders.

Item, That justices of peace in every shire should divide themselves into hundreds, rapes, wards and wapentakes, according as heretofore in other the king's business they had done; and they or two of them, within the limits of their division, were to repair to all farms, barns, stacks and garners; and there to view and try out, as well by the verdict of honest men, as by all other good and lawful means, what quantity and kind of grain every person had within their respective division. And after the certainty thereof known, as near as could be they were to allot and appoint to the owners of the corn and grain, sufficient and competent for the finding and maintenance of their houses, and payment of their rent-corns, and performance of any bargains for the king's majesty's house, or to any nobleman, gentleman or others, for the only maintenance of his or their household, until the 20th of September next coming; and also for necessary seed-corn; and the overplus of the said grain the justices shall have authority to charge and command them in the king's name to bring to the markets next adjoining; and that, in such portions as the justices shall think fit.

King Edw. Journ. And then the justices were to signify unto the chief officer or officers of the respective markets, what quantity of grain is appointed to every man within their limits to bring to market: and if the owner of such corn shall refuse to bring to the market his corn, he should forfeit for every such default ten pounds, and suffer imprisonment for three months. But notwithstanding, there came but little corn to the markets: whereupon letters were sent down to the gentlemen of every shire for the better observing the last proclamation, and to punish the offenders.

Prices set on victuals. And as the king had taken this care for stocking the markets, and keeping victuals, that God sent the people of England, within the realm, so he proceeded

to set a moderate price upon them by another proclamation, Octob. 20, building upon that statute of 25 Hen. 8. whereby the lord chancellor, the lord treasurer, the lord president of the king's privy council, the lord privy seal, the lord steward, the lord chamberlain, and all other lords of the council, the treasurer and comptroller of the king's house, the chancellor of the dutchy, the king's justices of either bench, the chancellor, chamberlain, under-treasurer and barons of the Exchequer, or seven of them at the least, should have power from time to time, as the case should require, to set and tax reasonable prices of all kinds of cheese, butter, capons, hens, chickens and other kind of victuals necessary for man's sustenance; how they should be sold in gross, or by retail, for the relief of the king's subjects: and that after such tax, proclamation should be made in the king's name, under his seal, of the said prices. According to which statute the prices were by certain of the king's great officers now set as follow, viz. from the feast of All Saints next ensuing.

1550.

	The quarter.	
	s.	d.
White wheat of the best sort	13	4
White wheat of the second sort, and red wheat of the best sort	11	0
All other wheat, as well white, red and grey, of the meanest sort, not clean or tayled	8	0
Malt, clean and sweet, of the best sort	10	0
Malt of the second sort	8	0
Rye of the best and cleanest	7	0
Rye of the second sort	6	0
Barley of the best sort	9	0
Of the second sort	7	0
Beans or pease of the best sort	5	0
Of the second sort	3	0
Oats of the best sort, clean and sweet	4	0

Accounting eight bushels to the quarter.

1550.
p. 224.

A pound of sweet butter not above . . .	The pound. 1 <i>d.</i> <i>ob.</i>
Barrelled butter of Essex, not to be sold to any of the king's subjects above . . .	<i>ob.</i> <i>di.</i> <i>q.</i>
And barrelled butter of any other parts . . .	— <i>ob.</i> <i>q.</i>
Cheese of Essex to be sold from Hallow- mas till new-year's crop	<i>ob.</i> <i>di.</i> <i>q.</i>
Cheese of other parts not above	— <i>ob.</i> <i>q.</i>

CHAP. XXVIII.

Controversy about the ecclesiastical habits. Peter Martyr's,
A Lasco's, and Bucer's judgments thereof. Altars taken down.
Barlow, Bishop of Bath and Wells. Superstition in Wales.
Foreign matters. Duke of Somerset restored. Grants of the
king. Lady Elizabeth. Morice. Haddon. Knox.

Hoper's
contest.Cap and
surplice.Peter Mar-
tyr's judg-
ment
thereof.

BUT to return to ecclesiastical matters. This year also happened the great controversy with Hoper, who, being to be consecrated bishop, refused to wear the ordinary episcopal habits, because they had been used by papistical idolaters. But before this contest happened with Hoper, it seems the dispute of the cap and surplice, and other pretended popish habits, grew very warm: for there is a letter of Peter Martyr extant, to a certain friend nameless, dated July 1, wherein, by occasion of his friend's writing to him upon this argument, he said, "That being indifferent things of themselves, they make no man either godly or ungodly. Yet he judged it more expedient, that that garment and divers other things were taken away, when it might conveniently be: wherby ecclesiastical things might be don in a more plain manner. For when signs are defended and retained with so obstinate a mind, which are not underpropt with God's word, there men are oftentimes less desirous of the things themselves signified therby. And where shew most prevails, there commonly that which is serious is much neglected."

John a Lasco, superintendent of the Dutch church, London, seemed to encourage Hoper in his in-^{1550.}compliance; that noble and learned foreigner's judgment standing at present rather against the use of such garments for the ministers of the gospel, however not to come to full resolution. Bucer and Peter Martyr aforesaid, the two learned king's professors of divinity in each university, were for wearing them in this case, when the laws of the land were so constituted, that a minister might not officiate, or exercise his office, except he were so apparelled, habits being things in their own nature indifferent, and which might have a tendency to edification. An account of Martyr's letter in this point, which he wrote to the said Hoper, may be seen in Archbishop Cranmer's Memorials. Bucer wrote two letters on this argument, one to A Lasco, who had propounded reasons to him against the habits; and another to Hoper. The sum of both which shall be here shewn, especially being so well replenished with learning, temper, and wisdom.

A Lasco
and Bu-
cer's judg-
ment.

p. 225.

In his letter to the former, he first prayed, "That they in those troublesome times of the church, might begin and finish things, that offences and dangers were not encreased. Then going on, he said, that the more diligently he weighed, what fruit men gathered by this controversy of vestures, and what Satan went about hereby to work, he could have wished that it had never once been spoken of: but that all of their function had stoutly and unanimously gon forward in teaching true repentance, and the wholesome use of all things, and in commending the putting on of the apparel of salvation. That by helping forward this strife (and he knew some that did so) the most necessary points were neglected, that is, of removing sacrilegious persons from spoiling churches, of providing fit ministers for every parish, and restoring of disciplin. As to Hoper's business, he did acknowledge if it were his own case, if he thought ceremonies and vestures were impure of themselves (*i. e.*

Bucer to
A Lasco,
shewing
his judg-
ment.

1550. in their own natures), he would not in any wise take upon him the office of a bishop, till they were taken away by authority; but he thought it not impertinent, that a man should be admonished to take heed of Satan's accustomed slights, to lead men away from the care of necessary things, to carefulness about things that might be let pass, and to a zeal to purge away things that are without us, thereby to neglect inward deformities. He told A Lasco that, according to his talent, he had weighed his reasons, and yet he could perceive no other, but that the use of all external things, as well in ceremonies as private matters, ought to be left free to the churches of God. He acknowledged, as he had confessed before to A Lasco, and declared unto his own countrymen, that he had rather no kind of vestures, used by papists, were retained, and that for two or three reasons, *viz.* for shewing more full detestation of the antichristian priesthood; for the plainer avouching of christian liberty, and for avoiding dangerous contentions among brethren. Yet, that he was for ministers using a grave habit, to be discerned from other men. But, as far as he saw as yet, he could not be brought by any scriptures to deny, that the true ministers of God might use, without superstition, and to a certain edification, any of those vestures which the antichristian church used." Thence descending to particulars, he spent the remaining part of his letter in great perspicuity, learning and moderation. The whole letter was translated into English, and set forth not far from the beginning of Queen's Elizabeth's reign, for the use of the church, that then was exercised afresh with the same controversy; and may be found in the Repository.

L L.
p. 226.

The same reverend man having received a letter from Hoper, and a paper enclosed, wherein were contained the reasons of his present trouble, and why in his judgment the habits ought not to be worn, and to which, if he approved them, he desired Bucer to subscribe his name; he gave him this answer:

“ That he was exceedingly sorry for this controversy, ^{1550.} which so grievously hindred his ministry, that he ^{Bucer to} could have been willing to have given a great deal, ^{Hoper.} that either it had not been moved at all, or speedily removed. That Satan, by these lets, prolonged his banishment from among the people of God. That it was his desire to have all things reduced to apostolic simplicity in external things, and to full and perfect religion. That he never procured to have any special kind of apparel in the administration of the sacrament, in the places where he had preached, as at Argentine, Ulm, Ausburgh, Casel; and that the abuse that he had seen of the garments in many places in England, he could be willing to suffer torment in his flesh, that they were taken away. But yet that which weighed most with him, was, that the sinews of antichrist bore such sway: he meant, that church robbers did still hold and spoil the chief parish churches; and that commonly one man had four or six of them, or more; and that many patrons bestowed two or three upon their stewards or huntsmen; and that upon condition that a good portion of the profits should be reserved to themselves; and any were hired for vicars, that would serve cheapest. That the universities were miserably troubled by many, either papists or epicures; whence it came to pass, that there were so few gospel preachers, that many churches had no sermons in five or six years, or more: that divine service was coldly and disorderly uttered, and so pronounced, that it could no more be understood than if it were Afric or Indian tongue. That baptism was ministered in the presence of a few light women. When marriage was solemnized, they prattled and played; the Lord's Supper, in many places, celebrated like a mass; no regard had of Christ's flock; no conference of catechism with the ignorant sort; no public or private admonition given to them that were slack in their duties, or otherwise offended. These, and divers other abuses, neglects and impieties, he said, were the chief mem-

1550. bers of antichrist, his bones, flesh and sinews. Which therefore the members of Christ should, with mutual force and continual travail, seek to overthrow; and then the abuse of apparel, and of all other things would utterly be abandoned, and all the badges and shadows of antichrist would vanish away. But that, if these principal members of antichrist, his substance and whole body were not cut off, and the kingdom of Christ thorowly established, by restoring the pure doctrin of Christ and good disciplin, in vain should they labour to put the marks and shadows of antichrist to flight. That if any church should give ear to him, they should not retain any garments which the papists had used in their superstitious service, and that for these causes, that it might the more plainly declare, that they had renounced all fellowship with the Romish antichrist; that they acknowledged the liberty of external things, and that the greatest care was to restore chiefly those things wherin the disciplin of Christ did especially consist, and that no occasion of strife might remain among the weaker sort. But to say that these garments were so defiled by the abuse of antichrist, that no church might use them, he dared not be so bold; neither did he see any place of scripture wherby he might defend this condemning of the good creature of God. That any ceremony is wickedly Aaronical, or antichristian, stood not in any creature of God, in any figure, in any colour, but in the mind and profession of those that abused God's good creature to wicked signification. And if any church, by the liberty of Christ, would have their ministers wear some special apparel in their ministry, to this end, to edify the flock of Christ, setting apart all superstition, all lightness and dissension, he could not see who could justly condemn such churches of any sin, nor of any fellowship with antichrist." And, in the conclusion, he prayed God so to moderate or remove this controversy, that it hindred not the necessary cleansing of the church. Hoper's letter to this reverend man, and his to Hoper,

p. 227.

(whereof this is some brief account), may be consulted in the Repository. 1550.

Now did Ridley, Bishop of London, by his injunctions, order the altars in his diocese to be taken down, as occasions of great superstition and error, and tables to be set in their room in some convenient places of the chancel or choir. And so far did the king's council favour him herein, that in the month of June, Sir John Yates, or Gates, the high sheriff, went down with letters into Essex, to see the Bishop of London's injunctions put in force, for the plucking down altars, superaltaries, and other corruptions in religion. This, when it was urged against Ridley by the commissioners, a little before his burning, he said, it was done upon this consideration, among others, for that altars seemed to come nigh the Jews' usage. But the papists now called the communion-table, most irreverently, an *oyster-board*: so did Dr. Weston and White, afterward Bishop of Lincoln. But as Ridley began this reformation of the Lord's table, so by the council's letter to him, and orders sent to all the bishops in the month of November, altars were generally every where taken away. MM. NN. Orders for taking down altars. King Edw. Journal.

But great contest there happened hereupon, in what precise part of the chancel the table should be placed, and how it should stand, whether east or north: and some placed it one way, and some another; which made White, before mentioned, scoffingly tell Ridley, "When your table was constituted, you could never be content in placing the same, now east, now north, now one way, now another, until it pleased God of his goodness to place it clean out of the church." But Ridley told him more gravely concerning the reformation that was made in relation to the holy communion, "That the supper of the Lord was not at any time better ministred, nor more duly received, than in these latter days, when all things were brought to the rites and usage of the primitive church." Contest about the standing of the tables. Acts and Mon. p. 1062.

But altars gave them such disgust, that before these

1550.
Some altars
taken
away be-
fore order.

p. 228.

The case
between
the Bishop
of Bath
and Wells
and the
Dean.

MSS. De
Epis. Lond.

public orders for taking them away, many well-disposed persons had changed them for tables. Thus George Constantine, Archdeacon of Carmarthen, in the year 1549, pulled down the altar there, and set up a table in the middle of the church, which, however, made a great murmur among the people; and the Bishop of St. David's, thinking this a dangerous matter at this time, when there was a rebellion in divers parts of the nation, and fearing it might provoke the Welshmen to rise, and not liking the archdeacon's doing this of his own head, without consulting the bishop, and without any authority from above, commanded the vicar to set up the communion-table for the present time near the place where it was before, that is, where the altar stood. And this was made one of the articles against this bishop by Constantine, and the rest of his enemies.

Barlow, Bishop of Bath and Wells, had deprived the Dean, named John Goodman, for some fault, which I do not at present find. For this act the common lawyers directed the dean to sue the bishop upon a *præmunire*, because that deanry was a donative of the king's. And so he brought a writ of *præmunire*, October 11, against the bishop. Upon this the bishop applied himself to the council, that if the law would permit, he might be excused personal appearance until the parliament, and yet to answer by attorney. The bishop also obtained a pardon, dated November 13, of all manner of contempts and prejudices, and of all manner of judgments; and further, of all his goods, lands, and tenements. But notwithstanding, the justices proceeded in the cause: so that, November the 22d, Justices Lyster, Bromley, and Portman, appeared before the council, and being demanded, why they proceeded in the Bishop of Bath's matter of *præmunire*, contrary to their letters of restraint addressed unto them in that behalf? they answered, that they were sworn to suffer the laws to have their due course: so that, without violating their oaths, they could stay no process. Other excuses

they made, but of small moment; wherefore, in the end, this question was proposed to them: "If a spiritual office be surrendered to the king, and after the king, by parliament, newly erecteth the same office, whether the same office be a spiritual office or no?" November 26, they gave in their answer, with the advice of the rest of the justices, which was this:

Resp. "A spiritual office surrendered to the king, notwithstanding the new erection of the same by any act of parliament, remaineth still a spiritual office as it was before."

These things seeming to go against the bishop, he appealed from the common law and the judges to the privy council. February 12, the dean, for his disobedience and evil behaviour to the bishop, was committed to the Fleet. Feb. 15, the council ordered the king's attorney and solicitor to confer with some of his majesty's justices, touching the *præmunire* between the bishop and dean; and upon the resolution of the same, to repair to their lordships with the proceedings of the same. Feb. 18, the archbishop had a letter sent to him by the council, to proceed in the appeal between the bishop and the dean. For Goodman, after his deprivation, had made a formal appeal unto the king: but whether that appeal was to be allowed, since the king had left Goodman's case unto the decision of his commissioners delegate for that purpose, and they had judged and deprived him, was a case much argued by the judges. And this was the opinion of most of them, viz. Where a sentence is given by commissioners delegate by the prince, the party grieved appealing, such appeal is out of the order prescribed by the said statute; and the prince in that case may grant a new commission to others to determine that appeal: and this was done. The issue was, Goodman's deprivation stood, but the bishop was constrained to sue for a pardon.

As to the success of the reformation, it went on but slowly in the parts farther distant from London. In Wales the people ordinarily carried their beads

1550.

Just.
Brook's
Abridgm.
Tit. Præ-
munire,
No. 21.

Goodman
deprived
of the
deanry,
appealeth.
Cok. Inst.
Part 4.
p. 340.

p. 229.

1550
Supersti-
tions and
wickedness
in Wales.

about with them to church, and used them in prayer. And even at the church of Carmarthen, while the bishop was at the communion-table, bare-headed, doing his devotions, the people kneeled there and knocked their breasts at the sight of the communion, using the same superstitious ceremonies as they had used in times past before the mass. They brought there corpses to be buried, with songs and candles lighted up about them. And one Dr. Hughs, ministering the communion in the cathedral church of St. David's, did, after the popish manner, break the host into three pieces, putting one of the parts into the cup, and giving a whole cake to the communicants without breaking the same. Also, this country was very infamous for concubinage, adultery, and incest: some kept four concubines together. It was common for married men to keep concubines, and other men's wives: some put away their own lawful wives, and married their concubines. One had two children by his own sister; one kept two sisters, whereof one was married to another man; one kept his own sister. And many of these sinners were priests.

The French
hostages
honour-
ably con-
ducted to
London.

But to look out a little upon our nation's concerns abroad. When matters were adjusted between England and France, and Boloign was to be restored to the French, which was agreed upon about the beginning of this year 1550, hostages on each side were to be given, and a great sum of money paid to King Edward. Account of this affair is given in the History of the Reformation; to which I add a few things relating hereunto out of the council-book: "April 20, Sir Thomas Cheney, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, was ordered to repair to Dover, to meet three of the French hostages, viz. Mons. D'Enghien, Le Marq. du Main, and Mons. Monmorancy, eldest son to the Constable of France; who were to remain here, on the French part, for surety of the first payment. And for surety of the second payment were three other hostages: Mons. Tremoyl, Vidame De

Chartres, and Mons. Hannibal D'Oy, the admiral's only son. And because these French hostages were of the principal nobility of France, it was agreed, that the Lord Marquess of Northampton, High Chamberlain of England, with an honorable company, viz. the Earl of Rutland, Lord Lisle, Lord Russel, Lord Grey, Lord William Howard, Lord Bray, Sir Anthony St. Leger, Sir William Stafford, Sir John Cutts, Sir Peter Mewtas, with certain other gentlemen, should meet them between Dover and London, to conduct them the more honourably, according to their estates.

"Sir Maurice Denys and Sir William Sherington, commissioners to receive the first payment now to be made by the French, are ordered to give, if Mons. Gondy, Master of the French King's Finances, doth bring the first payment, 2000 crowns in reward from his Majesty; and if another brings it, to give 2000 crowns, or so much as their discretion shall think fit. The reward was ordered to Mons. Gondy, because he was the first motioner and procurer of the peace."

Also April 20, "Sir John Mason, the ambassdor, made a motion to the council, to know how he should use the Bishop of Rome's nuncio, when they happened to meet in the French court; wherein he was referred to his own discretion, considering the trust committed to him, being the king's majesty's ambassdor there."

"Ordered the same day to dismiss the army in the North, to send the Almaines home by ships from Newcastle, to send the Irish home by ships from Chester, and to keep up two hundred men more than were usually in pay, in the town of Barwick. And forasmuch as the French had got the Queen of Scots into their hands, it was resolved to send a governor to the East and Middle Marches, one of great wisdom and ability and courage; and that the Earl of Warwick was thought the most fit for so important an employment; that he should have a 1000*l.* per annum fee, and an hundred horsemen, with liberty,

1550.

Commis-
sioners for
receiving
the French
money.

Mason,
ambassa-
dor for
France.

p. 230.

Orders
upon the
peace with
France.

1550. when things were established there, to return to the court, or remain in the country, as he shall please."

An embassy from Brandenburg.

To lay in here also some other matters from the same MS. "April 24, the Marquess of Brandenburg's ambassador made these two requests to the council: 1. His master offered the king his service with aid of men of war. 2. He desired the Lady Mary in marriage. The answer was, the king took the first offer in good part, and returned him thanks. To the second, that his highness, by the advice of his council, had already treated with the emperor about it; which, being not yet determined, allowed them not in honour to begin any new practice for the same."

He was prayed to take this for answer, with most hearty thanks for his good will, and so dispatched.

A message to Sir Robert Bowes, in the North.

"May 2, the king sent notice to Sir Robert Bowes (Warden of the Marches), that he resolved to place the Earl of Warwick in the North; and for the good service of Sir Robert Bowes, he would settle a pension on him, and further reward him."

The commissioners return from Boloign.

"May 4, the Lord Clinton, with the rest of the commissioners from Boloign, were received by the council, and thanked for their good service beyond sea. The Lord Clinton, by the whole council, was conducted to the king's presence, who thanked him, and declared that he should be made admiral, and one of his privy council." And full peace was made this month with the French king: in whose oath for the peace he confessed the king's stiles, of *Supreme Head of the Church of England*, and *King of Ireland*.

Lord Clinton rewarded.

"May 11, the Lord Clinton's estate not being able to maintain the port and dignity of Lord High Admiral, to which he had been lately advanced, upon surrender of the Earl of Warwick's patent, and in consideration of his great service at Boloign (of which he was captain), it was determined to give him 200*l.* land, and to make him one of the privy chamber."

And accordingly by a patent, bearing date the 14th of May, he, by the name of Edward, Lord

Clynton and Say, had granted to him the office of Great Admiral of England, Ireland, Wales, and the Dominions and Isles of the same, the Town of Calais, and the Marches of the same, of Normandy, Gascoin, and Aquitain, as it ran in the patent; and this to hold for the term of his life, with the fee of 200 marks per annum. And by another patent, granted to him June 10 following, the king gave him the manors of Westinhunger and Satewood (alias Saltwood) in Kent, and the manors of Folkston and Walton, and divers other manors, lands, and tenements in Kent, Cornwall, York, Lincoln, Devon, and Sussex, to the value of 227-19-5; and 18-5-10*ob.* yet with some rent reserved. And (to take in together in this place other royal bounties enjoyed by this lord) in the first year of King Edward's reign, for his good service against the Scots, the said king gave him the manor of Braunceton, in the county of Lincoln, with the appertenances, late parcel of the possessions of John, Lord Hussey; and the manor of Clifford, in the county of Hereford, parcel of the possessions of the late Earl of March, and divers other lands and tenements: and the same year the king gave him besides the manor of Folkingham, in Lincolnshire, late parcel of the possessions of the Duke of Norfolk, attainted of treason, and divers other manors, lands, and tenements.

In November, 1550, he had the grant of the office of high steward, of the manors of Westborough, Calthorp, Riskington, Hekington and Welborn, in Lincolnshire; and of all other lands, tenements, &c. which were the demeans of Thomas, late Duke of Norfolk, for life, with the fee of five pounds by year for the high stewardship, and four pounds by year for the keep of the courts. In Jan. 17, he obtained of the king a licence, that where of late he had enclosed a several ground in Aslabr, alias Aslakby, and Kirkby Underwood, in the county of Lincoln, for a park, that from henceforth it should be a free and lawful park for keeping and feeding of deer. The next day, viz.

1550.
Manors
and lands
given him.
Book of
Sales.

p. 231.

More
grants to
him.

Warr.
Book.

1550. Jan. 18, he had of the king the reversion of the office of steward of the honour of Bullingbroke, in Lincolnshire, and of all the manors, lands, &c. in the parties of Kesteven, parcel of the duchy of Lancaster, for life, after the death of Sir William Hussey, Knight, and all fees, profits, &c. This was lately given to the Lord Clinton in possession; for that Sir William Hussey was supposed to be dead: now new signed and granted in reversion. In the very next month he obtained the gift of all the lordships, manors, lands, &c. lying in the town of St. Botolph, alias Boston, in Lincolnshire, belonging to the late chantry of Corpus Christi, founded within the said town,—the value not expressed,—to be holden by fealty: and to take the profits from Easter, an. 2. Edward VI. The next month, viz. March 7, an indenture passed between the king and Edward, Lord Clinton; witnessing that the Lord Clinton had bargained and sold unto his highness all his lordships and manors in Folkingham, Aslackby, &c. And the king had bargained and sold unto the said lord, the lordships and manors of Wye, and the rectory of Wye, in the county of Kent, with divers other lands, &c.; and a gift of the same date of the lordship and manor of Wye, and other lands, to the yearly value of 358-15-8. Again, March 16, he had the office of keeping the castle of Bullingbroke, and the office of porter there. March 20, he had the office of steward of the lordship of Newark-upon-Trent, and of all the lands, tenements, &c. whatsoever in Newark, and the office of the constable of the castle there, and of the bailiff of the same, for life, with fee.

Still more.

Anno 1551, March 25, he had a lease of the king for sixty years of the manors of Folkingham, Aslabe, and Temple Aslaby, in the county of Lincoln, with divers other lands. In April he was made knight of the garter, at the same time when the French king was elected into the same order. And the king gave him a *George*, set with eight small diamonds, which had been the Earl of Southampton's, late deceased.

The same month he had the office of steward and keeper of the courts of all the lordships and manors in the county of Lincoln, parcel of the possessions of the late monasteries of Valday Newbo, Swinshed, &c. and divers other lands, &c. (as appears by his letters patents) in the same county, for life, with several fees amounting to 100 mark. 1550.
p. 232.

Anno 1552, in recompence of his journey to France, for the baptizing of Edward Alexander, the son of the French king, in the name and place of King Edward his godfather, the said king by patent, dated April 15, gave him the manor of Kingstown, in Somersetshire, with the advowson, and the manor of Chisilbourn, in the county of York, with the advowson, which were lately parcel of the possessions of Sir Thomas Arundel, and came to the king's hands by his attaindor; to hold to him and his heirs, with some rent reserved to the king. And the same year a patent of licence, dated Nov. 1, was granted to the Bishop of Carlisle, to sell to the said lord admiral his soke or lordship of Horncastle, in the county of Lincoln, together with all the appurtenances and hereditaments in the villages, field, parishes of Horncastle, Overcompton, Nethercompton, Ashby, Marning, Wilsby, Haltam, Conesby, Boughton, Thimelby, Morby, Maram, and Enderby, in the same county, with the advowsons thereunto appertaining; licencing also the dean and chapter to confirm and ratify the same; and granting licence to the said lord to pay a yearly rent of 28-6-8 to the said bishop and his successors for ever out of the premises: and to have these letters patents with discharge of the fees of the seal. In December, a lease for two hundred years was granted him by the king of the Bishop of Hereford's house in London.

The Duke of Somerset, now after his imprisonment, submission and pardon, was called, April 10, to the privy council; who sued for himself to be again admitted to the privy chamber; and was so the 14th of the next month. And his estate being forfeited The Duke
of Somer-
set re-
stored.

1550. and given to the crown by parliament, an. 3 and 4 reg. the king of his special favour, and at the humble petition of the lords of his council, by patent sealed June 4, gave him back of that, it seems, which had been his before, the castle of Marleborough, and all his lordships and manors of Barton, Ludgarshal, Alborn, and Old Wotton, and his parks of Ludgarshal, Great Vastern, Little Vastern, Alborn chase, and Alborn warren, and the forests and the liberties of the forests of Bradon and Savernake, with the appurtenances, in the county of Wilts; and divers other lordships, manors, lands and tenements, in the counties of Wilts, Southampton, Dorset, Somerset, Middlesex, Berks, and Bucks. And June the 14th, in consideration of the castle and lordship of Sleaford, and other lands and manors in the county of Lincoln, the king, by patent of the same date, gave him all and singular the messuages, lands, tenements and hereditaments, with the appurtenances in the town of Glastenbury, in the county of Somerset, and other lands and tenements in Kingston-upon-Hull: the which were valued at 214-14-5 *obq. per annum.*

And lands
given him.
King Edw.
Book of
Sales.

Message
from the
council to
the Lord
Arundel.

p. 233.

The Earl of Arundel, one of ancient nobility, but to whom the Earl of Warwick bare no good will, for certain pretended faults had been fined very deep, whereof he was remitted afterward by the king's clemency; to him had the Lord Cobham and Mr. Comptroller been sent. And "July 13, they were with him, (with their message, which was to go with a force into Sussex for the prevention of stirs, there likely to arise;) but they found him not disposed to go (taking his late punishment in no small indignation.) He pretended sickness, poverty, and lack of provision; and that since his fine was set, he thought himself restored to favour with the king's council also, which he had dearly bought; considering that in his own conscience he had never offended; wherefore it seemed strange to him now to be commanded into Sussex. Whereupon the council resolved, that the lord admiral, the Lord Cobham, should go again unto

him, and require him to send back the pardon that he had sued and obtained of the king, and telling him that he would find means that they should come to the trial of this justification of himself, and to be used according to justice: and as to his going into Sussex, he was commanded no otherwise than as all other noblemen are in the whole realm, for the preserving the peace of the country between this and Michaelmas, in eschewing such inconveniencies as happened last year. To this his direct answer was required." By the sequel it appears he went not into Sussex, for the Duke of Somerset, as was hinted before, was dispatched thither.

"July 19, it was not thought convenient for the Earl of Warwick to go into the North, as was before ordered; but rather, for many urgent occasions, to attend the king's person; and Sir R. Bowes to remain warden of the marches, as he was before: for the courtiers did not care to give their enemies the advantage of their absence in the present factions at court.

"January 13, Mr. Chamberlain, ambassador with the lady regent in Flanders, complained by letters to the council, that it was declared that he was, by the express command of the emperor, prohibited the service of God in his house there, according to the order of the realm, contrary to the privilege and liberty granted to ambassadors in all countries; wherfore it was thought convenient, and for the king's honour, that the emperor's ambassador here should be sent to, and advertised, that the king thought it strange, seeing he had the liberty here to do in his own house as he would; and that if his ambassador be denied the liberty of divine service in his house in Flanders, the emperor's ambassador must be prohibited the same liberty in England, and be constrained to use the forms of service only by law established in this realm, and to have no mass: that he should take the message for warning. The Bishop of Ely and Mr. Secretary Petre should deliver this message to him.

1550.

Warwick goes not into the North.

The ambassador in Flanders forbade the English service.

1550. "Febr. 3, the Lord Maxwel of Scotland made a request for licence to pass through England from France to Scotland, with sixteen horse in his retinue. This matter being debated, seemed to be of great importance; that the Scots should pass to and fro through the realm, Scotland being made French: which liberty would much advance the French affairs, and hinder our men. It was resolved he should not pass this way; which, with fair words, was dissembled under this pretence, that the realm had been so charged with the furnishing of those that, since the peace concluded, had thus passed to and from, that we could not conveniently any longer support it; wherefore he was prayed to have patience." The council before this had granted many passes to and from Scotland and France.

The council deny a pass to the L. Maxwel.

p. 234.

Lands granted to the Lady Elizabeth. Book of Sales.

To the Lady Elizabeth, the king's sister, he now granted, for fulfilling the king his father's last will, the whole scite, sept, circuit, compass and precinct of the late monastery of Missenden, in the county of Bucks; and all and singular the houses, edifices, &c. lately in the occupation of Richard Grenway; and divers other lands, tenements and hereditaments in Bucks, Bedford, Hertford, and divers other counties, to the yearly value of 3106*l.* 13*s.* 10*b.* *q.*: rent reserved 106*l.* 13*s.* 10*b.* *q.* The king also this year made over to her the manor of Hatfield Episcopi, alias Regis, late parcel of the possession of the Bishop of Ely: this, with other lands, were valued at 44*l.* 15*s.* 10*b.* yearly. This was granted upon consideration of her parting with the manor of Easter in Lincolnshire.

From this her manor of Hatfield, and perhaps not long after this time, did the said lady write an ingenious letter to the king her brother, who had desired her picture; which was as follows:

Her letter to the king upon his desiring of her picture. Vespasian, F. 3.

"Like as the rich man that daily gathereth riches to riches, and to one bag of money layeth a great sort, till it come to infinite; so methinks your majesty, not being sufficed with many benefits and gentleness shewed to me afore this time, doth now en-

crease them in asking and desiring, where you may bid and command; requiring a thing not worthy the desiring for itself, but made worthy for your highness request. My picture I mean: in which, if the inward good mind toward your grace might as well be declared, as the outward face and countenance shall be seen, I would not have tarried the commandment, but prevented it; nor have been the last to grant, but the first to offer it: for the face I grant I might well blush to offer, but the mind I shall never be ashamed to present. But though from the grace of the picture the colours may fade by time, may give by weather, may be spited by chance; yet the other, nor time with her swift wings shall overtake, nor the misty clouds with their lowring may darken, nor chance with her slippery foot may overthrow.

“Of this also yet the proof could not be great, because the occasions have been so small, notwithstanding, as a dog hath a day, so may I perchance have time to declare it in deeds, which now I do write them but in words. And further, I shall humbly beseech your majesty, that when you shall look on my picture you will witsafe to think, that as you have but the outward shadow of the body afore you, so my inward mind wisheth that the body itself were oftner in your presence. Howbeit, because both my so being I think could do your majesty little plesure, though myself great good: and again, because I see as yet not the time agreeing thereunto, I shall learn to follow the saying of Orace, *Feras non culpes quod vitari non potest*. And thus I will (troubling your majesty I fear) end with my most humble thanks; beseeching God long to preserve you to his honour, to your comfort, to the realm's profit, and to my joy.

From Hatfield this 15th day of May.

Your majesty's most humble

Sister and servant,

ELIZABETH.”

1550.
p. 235.
Grants to
Bp. Thirl-
by.

The king also this year granted lands to Thirlby, Bishop of Norwich; that is to say, for the sum of 130*l.* 10*s.* and in consideration of service, the king made over to him the manor of Frith and Newhal, with the appurtenances in the county of Middlesex, lately parcel of the possessions of the late bishoprick of Westminster, of the yearly value of 13*l.* 1*s.* The test of the patent was April 9. Again, by a patent dated two days after, viz. the 11th of April, of the king's special grace he granted him for augmentation of the bishoprick of Norwich, all that manor, rectory, and church of Happesborough, in the county of Norfolk, with all the rights, members and appurtenances thereof, formerly belonging to the monastery of Wymondham in the same county, lately dissolved, together with divers other manors and tenements in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincoln: the yearly value 303*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* Rent reserved 52*l.* 19*s.* 10*ob.* and 64*l.* 15*s.* 11*ob.* And by patent, dated June 19 following, in consideration of the manor of Happesborough, with other lands and tenements, the king granted him the manors of Northerek, Houghton, alias Laxhams, Braunchehal, and Snorings, in the county of Norfolk, with the appurtenances, formerly belonging to the late dissolved priory of Blackborough, and divers other lands and tenements in the county of Norfolk, of the yearly value of 53*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.* rent reserved 23*s.* 9*d.*

Will. Morice, his purchase.

And this year did William Morice, Esq. of High Ongar, in the county of Essex, make a purchase of the king, which I the rather mention to revive the memory of a good man, and ancient professor and confessor of religion; for he had been a great friend and patron of Latimer, under the reign of King Henry; and in the very latter end of his reign suffered imprisonment for religion in the Charter House, London, then inhabited by Sir Robert Southwel, and narrowly escaped with his life by the death of that king intervening. He was the father of Rafe Morice, secretary to the most reverend father and martyr

Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. This memorable person, with Edward Isaac, (he, of Kent, I suppose, who under Queen Mary was an exile,) purchased of the king, for 1213*l.* 5*s.* 2*d.* all that mesuage or tenement, and one garden, in the tenure of William Meryl, situate in Neylond in Suffolk, lately belonging to a chantry, called our Lady's Chantry, in Neylond, and divers other lands, tenements and hereditaments, in the counties of Suffolk, Somerset, Devon, London, Cambridge, Cornwall, Dorset, to the yearly value of 72*l.* 11*s.* 7*d.* The patents bare date July 8.

1550.

I find a learned and well-deserving man now gratified by the king, namely, Walter Haddon, LL. D. and master of Trinity Hall in Cambridge. To him the king, out of his special grace, granted the office of reading the civil law within the University of Cambridge, *durante beneplacito*, with the salary of 40*l.* The patent bore date March 21.

Dr. Haddon public reader of law.

It was in the year 1550, or very near it, that the famous Scotch divine, John Knox, was appointed preacher to Berwick, and after that to Newcastle; whence he came more southward, and at length to London; where he became known to the king and court, whence he received a salary; and here, and in the parts of Buckinghamshire, he remained till the death of King Edward.

Knox first comes into England.

CHAP. XXIX.

p. 236.

Sectaries. Certain incompassant bishops punished. Churches of strangers in London and Glastenbury. A Lasco and Pollanus, their pastors. The Strasburgh liturgy. Bucer's death. Anabaptists.

WE shall now spend some lines in matters relating to the present state of religion in the realm. And first we shall consider some that prejudiced and hindered it: both such as pretended to the profession

1550. of the gospel, and others that were open enemies to it. Sectaries, I mean, and papists.

Sectaries
in Kent
and Essex.

Sectaries appeared now in Essex and Kent, sheltering themselves under the profession of the gospel: of whom complaint was made to the council. These were the first that made separation from the reformed church of England, having gathered congregations of their own. The congregation in Essex was mentioned to be at Bocking: that in Kent was at Feversham, as I learn from an old register. From whence I also

Foxii MSS.

collect, that they held the opinions of the Anabaptists and Pelagians; that there were contributions made among them for the better maintaining of their congregations; that the members of the congregation in Kent went over unto the congregation in Essex, to instruct and to join with them: and that they had their meetings in Kent in divers places beside Feversham. The names of some of the chief of these sectaries in Kent were, Henry Hart, Cole of Feversham, George Brodebridge, Humphrey Middleton, (who were their teachers, as it seems) William Greneland, John Grey, William Forstal, Edmund Morres, Laurence Ramsay, Thomas Broke, Roger Linsey, Richard Dimeslake, clerk, Nicolas Yong, John Plume of Leneham, and Cole of Maydston. Their teachers and divers of them were taken up, and found sureties for their appearance, and at length brought into the ecclesiastical court; where they were examined in forty-six articles, or more. Many of those before-named being deposed upon the said

Their tenets.

articles, confessed these to be some sayings and tenets among them: "That the doctrine of Predestination was meeter for devils than for Christian men: that children were not born in original sin." Which were Cole's assertions. These that follow were taught by Hart: "That there was no man so chosen, but that he might damn himself; neither any man so reprobate, but that he might keep God's commandments and be saved. That St. Paul might have damned himself, if he listed: and that learned men were the

cause of great errors : that his faith was not grounded upon learned men, for that all errors were brought in by learned men." Other doctrines of theirs were, "That God's predestination was not certain, but upon condition. That to play at any manner of game for money is sin, and the work of the flesh. That they ought not to salute any sinner, or a man they knew not. That lust after evil was not sin, if the act were not committed. That Adam was elected to be saved ; and that all men being then in Adam's loins were predestinated to be saved ; and that there were no reprobates. That the preaching of predestination is a damnable thing. That we are not to communicate with sinners ;" and many other.

But beside these sectaries there was information sent to the court in June this year of another sort in Essex, but they, as it seems, more harmless, namely, certain that came together on other days beside Sundays and holydays, to hear sermons, who had preachers that then preached to them : and that, for ought I perceive, was all their fault ; for I do not find any false doctrine or sedition laid to their charge. The lord chancellor, Rich, who was no favourer of the gospel, being, as it seems, at one of his houses in Essex, sent word of this to the council ; shewing the danger of this practice, as being likely to breed the common people up in a neglect of their ordinary callings, and an indulging of themselves to idleness. But I suppose the truth was, he was afraid the knowledge of the gospel should spread too much. The issue of this was, "That June 23, a letter was directed to the Bishop of London, declaring the disposition of the people to idleness ; and praying him therefore to take order for preaching the holydays only, till a better time of the people's inclination ;" as the minutes run in the Council Book. Of which some larger notice hath been given before.

One Hickson now appeared, who pretending to have a spirit of prophecy, had used divers strange practices ; among which he touched the king's person

1550.

p. 237.

Preaching
in Essex on
work-days
complained
of,

And forbidden.
N. Bately.

Hickson, a
pretended
prophet.
Council
Book.

1550. and the estate of this realm; and was therefore, May 16, committed to the Tower by the council.

Warnham, a priest, suspected. One Warreham, a priest, who had been eighteen years out of the realm, returning in a manner disguised, and being suspected of matter of importance, was also committed to the Tower by order of council.

Masses still in Paul's. Order had been given in June the last year, from the council to Bishop Bonner, against the use of masses, said privately in some of the chapels in St. Paul's, under the name of our Lady's Communion: and that for the future (to prevent it) the communion should be celebrated no where else but at the high altar, and at no time else but at the times when the high masses used to be said. Of which order of council the bishop certified the dean and chapter. Yet still, to this time, even under Ridley, who was now bishop, the communion was celebrated with such superstitions, as though it were a mass. Of this some informed the council, and that when the eucharist was celebrated, it was in effect a mass. Whereupon the council thought fit to appoint certain intelligent persons, favourers of the gospel, to go to Paul's, and there to observe well what deviations were made from the late order prescribed. For, October 11th, 1550, it was ordered, "That Thomas Astely join with two or three more honest gentlemen in London, for the observation of the usage of the communion in Paul's; wherof information was given, that it was used as the very mass." Such a secret good will did many of the priests and churchmen, belonging to the cathedral, still bear to the old former usages.

Council Book.
N. B.

p. 238. The church also of Westminster, nearer to the king's house than any other, was not yet freed from its superstitions, both in apparel and books, which were still preserved there: which occasioned a letter, dated in February, from the king and his council to the members of that church; "That in the presence of Mr. Vicechamberlain, and Sir Anthony Aucher, all manner of garnishments and apparel of silver and

gold, such as altar-cloths, copes, &c. should be taken away, and delivered to the said Sir Anthony: and to deface and carry out of the library at Westminster, all books of superstition; such as missals, breviaries, processions, &c. 1550.

But for the taking better order with cathedrals, influenced much by their respective bishops, as one, viz. Bonner, of London, was deposed last year, so we find three incomplicant prelates more this year under confinement in the Tower, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, Heth of Worcester, and Day of Chichester. The particular reasons whereof may be read in other histories: Gardiner was this year, toward the latter end thereof, judicially deprived; as the two others were the year following; the former for refusing to assist at the reforming of the old Ordinal, and the latter for denying to obey the order of the council for taking away the altars in their dioceses. For this *contempt*, as it was stiled in the Council Book, they were both deprived October 5th, 1551. Three bishops laid aside.

As for Bishop Gardiner his story is related at length elsewhere. He was dealt very honourably with, having divers messages sent to him from the king, and divers of his chiefest ministers repairing to him, to confer with and persuade him. Among the rest, once the lord great master, the lord treasurer, the master of the horse, and the secretary, brought him certain articles to subscribe, together with the king's letter: which being omitted in Cranmer's Memorials, and so expressive of the matters wherein the bishop gave offence, I shall here insert from the original. Bishop Gardiner his matter. Cranm. Memor.

"By the King.

"EDWARD,

"It is not, We think, unknown unto you, with what clemency and favour We, by the advice of our council, caused you to be heard and used, upon those sundry complaints and informations, that were made

The king's letter to Bishop Gardiner. MSS. G. Petyt Armig.

1550. to us and our said council of your disordered doings and words, both at the time of our late visitation, and otherwise; which notwithstanding, considering that the favour, both then and many other times ministred unto you, wrought rather an insolent wilfulness in yourself, than any obedient conformity, such as would have beseemed a man of your vocation, We could not but use some demonstration of justice towards you, as well for such notorious and apparent contempts and other inobediencies, as after and contrary to our commandment, were openly known in you; as also, for some example and terror of such other, as by your example seemed to take courage to mutter and grudge against our most godly proceedings; wherof great disorder and inconvenience might have ensued: for the avoiding wherof, and for your just deservings, you were by our said council committed to ward. Where, albeit we have suffered
p. 239. you to remain a long space, sending unto you in the mean time, at sundry times, divers of the noblemen and others of our privy council, and travailling by them with clemency and favour to have reduced you to the knowledge of your duty; yet in all this time have you neither knowledged your faults, nor made any such submission as might have beseemed you, nor yet shewed any appearance either of repentance, or of any good conformity to our godly proceedings: wherewith albeit we have good cause to be offended, and might also justly, by the order of our laws, cause your former doings to be reformed and punished to the example of others; yet for that We would both the world and yourself also should know, that We delight more in clemency than the streit administration of justice, We have vouchsafed not only to address unto you these our letters, but also to send eftsones unto you four of our privy council, with certain articles; which being by Us, with the advice of our said council considered, We think requisite, for sundry considerations, to be subscribed by you: and therefore will and command you to subscribe the said articles,

upon pain of incurring such punishment and penalties as by our laws may be put upon you, for not doing the same. Yeven at our palace of Westminster the viii day of July, the fourth year of our reign. 1550.

*E. Somerset. W. Northampton. A. Wyngfeld.
W. Wiltshire. E. Clynton. W. Herbert.
J. Warwyk. G. Cobham. Edw. North.
J. Bedford. W. Paget. W. Petre, S."*

When his case came before the commissioners, he had the liberty of producing favourable witnesses in his behalf; and they were many, and some persons of honour, as the Lord Rich, lord chancellor, Lord Paget, Sir John Baker, Bishop Tunstal, Bishop Thirleby, John Seaton, D. D. William Meddow, John White, Thomas Watson, clerks, (these four last his chaplains), Francis Allen, his secretary, James Basset, Jaques Wingfield, his proctors in this process, William Coppinger, John Davie, Rich. Hampden, Will. Brown, Thomas Growt, Robert Massie, and a great many more, some his chaplains, and others his officers or servants. Their depositions and testimonies are all set down at large in John Foxe's first edition of his Acts. The bi-shop's witnesses:

It may be observed here, that some of the bishop's witnesses were of the privy council: but it was at the request, as was pretended, of certain of the bishop's servants; and was favourably granted by order of privy council; which was to this tenor: "Jan. 19. This day two of the Bishop of Winchester's servants came to the council, and desired certain of them (of the council) to be sworn upon certain articles, for witness on his (the bishop's behalf); whereunto they answered, that upon their honours, and as they would answer before God, they would witness truly according to their conscience, and as effectually as if they were sworn upon a book." And when the Lord Rich, lord chancellor, on the eighth session, or court-day, was to be deposed, (that I may mention this by the bye) he declared, that honourable personages, being Whereof some were of the privy council.

1530. of dignity and office (as he was) were by the laws of the realm privileged, not to be sworn in common form as other witnesses; promising nevertheless, upon his truth to God, his allegiance to the king, and upon his fidelity, to certify the truth: and the judges did onerate him upon his truth to God, his allegiance to the king, and his honour and fidelity, to depose the plain and whole truth.

A church
granted the
strangers.

And as these checks were given to sectarism and popery this year, so countenance was shewn to the true profession of the gospel; one instance whereof follows: great numbers of pious foreigners, Dutch and of other nations, were now in and about London: many whereof were driven out of their own countries by the popish persecution. These had a place assigned them for their safe assembling themselves together for the public worship of God: being a large and fair part of the church of the Augustin Friery, dissolved. And one Johannes a Lasco, a nobleman of Poland, became their first and chief pastor. This man had abandoned his own country and honours, to dwell an exile in other parts, for the freer acknowledgment of the gospel: but not without the Polish king's good leave, to whom he was well known and beloved: for so a foreign good historian teaches us: A Lasco left Poland; *sciente, et permittente rege: cui propter ingenii dexteritatem charus erat, et qui in arduis negotiis ejus opera non semel usus est*; that is, "By the knowledge and permission of the king, to whom, for his excellent parts he was dear, and who did more than once make use of him in his difficult affairs."

John a
Lasco their
pastor.

Lavater.
Hist. Sa-
cramentar.

The patent

The date of King Edward's grant of this church to these strangers, and the particular place where, is ascertained from that king's Book of Sales, being set down in these words: "The king, *de speciali gratia*, of his especial grace, granted the superintendent and ministers of the church of the Germans and other strangers, *Totum illud templ. sive ecclesiam nuper fratrum Augustinens. in civitat. Lond. ac totam*

terram, fundum et solum ejusdem ecclesiæ." The 1550.
test of the patent was, Jul. 24. an. 4. Edw. 6.

As for A Lasco, he was very vigilant in exercising preaching, administering the sacraments, discipline and government, as being superintendent, and deserved well of this church. And when, in the year 1552, some of them received molestation for not frequenting the parish churches where they dwelt, according as the laws then directed (and opposition seems to have been made by some busy persons, to hinder the exercise of religion in this church) A Lasco made his complaint above, where he was much respected, and got this obligation of going to the parish church dispensed with, and allowance for them to resort still to their own church: for he obtained this order of council: "Nov. 4, 1552. Ordered, that the Bishop of London should confer with John a Lasco, and between them devise some good means for appeasing the disquiet lately happened in the stranger's church in London, upon execution of the statute for coming to church; and, in the meanwhile, till the matter may be further considered, to suffer the said strangers to repair to their accustomed church, as they were wont to do."

A Lasco buried his wife anno 1552; and for his conveniency, comfort, and for the better managery of his domestic affairs, married again not long after: for he had divers young children: one was called Barbara, and another Thomas, (to whom I suspect Archbishop Thomas Cranmer was godfather, and gave him his own name;) which marriage Peter Martyr, then at Oxon, approved of: for when John Utenhovius, a man of nobility, piety and learning, and one of the ministers of the Dutch church in London, had by letter advised the said Martyr, lately also become a widower, to take another wife, as A Lasco had done; "The good man thanked him for his counsel, and added, that so he would, if he were in A Lasco's case, and had children young and numerous as he had. Wherefore he much commended and liked what

An order
from the
council for
this church

A Lasco
marries
again.

p. 241.
P. Martyr's
judgment
thereof.
Biblioth.
Eccl. Belg.
Lond.

1550. he had done. But as for himself he had no child, and was grown into years; and therefore thought it better for him to remain as he was." As I collect from a private letter of his.

A Lasco
known to
Erasmus at
Basil.

This grave nobleman and servant of God, resided some time in his youth at Basil in Switzerland: where he seemed first to have tasted the word of God, and seen the errors and superstitions ordinarily practised in the church. Here he was, while Erasmus, that great scholar, abode here, by whom he was well known and highly esteemed: and as a peculiar testimony thereof, he made a sale of his library to him in his life time, to enjoy after his death, paying such a sum; which Erasmus forgets not to specify in his last will; wherein is this clause, "*Bibliothecam quidam meam, &c. i. e.* I have sold my library to M. John a Lasco, a Pole, according to a bond made between us upon this contract: yet let not the books be delivered, before he pay to my heir 200 florins."

Discipline
exercised
in this
church.

Mic. An-
gelo Florio.

It was one commendable practice of this church of strangers, that good discipline was preserved in it, to bring scandalous sinners to open shame, whatever their outward qualities or respects were. To this church, at this time, belonged a scholar and a preacher, named Michael Angelo Florio, an Italian; who preached to a congregation of Italians, and had the countenance of the archbishop and the secretary; by both whose means he had an annuity of £20. for life, payable by the king quarterly. But having been found guilty of an act of fornication, he underwent the censures of the church, and was deposed from his ministry. Afterwards enjoined penance, which he performed: but some time after seemed to have been restored again. This was entered into the acts of the church. In the year 1566, I find Grindal, Bishop of London, sent unto Cousin and Wing, the Dutch preachers, that they would transcribe out of the said Acts or Register, a short account of what was done with this Italian for his scandalous sin of deflowering a maid, and the form of the public penance

enjoined to and performed by him: but after search, 1550.
this book was not to be found then among them.
And the ministers abovesaid conjectured, that Martin
Micronius had carried it along with him to Embden,
when that church was broken up, upon Queen Mary's
access to the crown.

Nor must the church of strangers at Glastenbury, Strangers
in Somersetshire, be unmentioned, with Valerandus placed at
Pollanus, their preacher and superintendent. These Glasten-
consisted chiefly of weavers of worsted. The good bury.
Duke of Somerset, to whom that dissolved abby was
granted, settled them there by indenture between him
and them, with a promise to lend them money to buy
wool and necessities to carry on their manufactures,
and allotted them rooms for their dwelling, and ascer-
tained certain portions of land for feeding of their
cows; and lastly, appointed one Henry Cornish to be
their chief overseer, to take care of them, and to see
them provided with all things needful for them and
their trades. But upon the disgrace and misfortunes
of the duke, these honest men's industry was at a p. 242.
stand for a time, till some farther encouragement
came to them from the privy council; as we shall
hear by and by.

This church, seated at Glastenbury, came from The Litur-
Strasburgh, flying thence by reason of the *Interim*. gy of the
Pollanus had come to this church eight years before. strangers'
In February, 1550, being in London, there he set church at
forth in Latin the Liturgy of these strangers, which Stras-
they used in their religious worship at Strasburgh: burgh, re-
that so exposing, as I suppose, their worship to pub- moved to
lic view, they might the easier be admitted in Eng- Glasten-
land to the free exercise of it. The Epistle Dedicat- bury.
ory was to King Edward, dated Feb. 19, 1551, that N. Bat.
is, according to the computation of the church of
England, 1550. Herein he wrote, "That he thought
it worth his pains to put into Latin the rites and
manners (never sufficiently commended) used by the
stranger's church at Argentine, exiles for the gospel
of Christ: being induced to it as a point of duty,

1550. understanding how this good church had been slandered by some, for changing their religion; by others, for the licentiousness of their manners. He also mentioned *Aphorisms* of their discipline, which he intended ere long to publish; and gives this high character of the said church, that there was none purer, or that came nearer to that which was in the apostles' times." This Liturgy is short. It was printed in October, and bare this title:

"*Liturgia Sacra, seu Ritus Ministerii in Ecclesia Peregrinorum Profugorum propter Evangelium Christi, Argentine, 1551. Cum Apologia pro hac Liturgia. Per Valerandum Pollanum, Flandrum.*"

The particulars of the Strassburgh Liturgy.
N. Bately.

And because some more particular account of this foreign Liturgy may, perhaps, not be unacceptable to some, I shall here set it down.

The service for the Lord's Day. First, *Sursum corda*. Then the first table of the Decalogue is sung in rhyme. Then the pastor standing at the table, turning to the people, thus begins: *Our help is in the name of the Lord, &c.* A short exhortation to confess their sins. A confession. (The Sentence, the Exhortation and Confession, are the same which are at this day used in the French congregations, and prescribed in their Liturgy; but therein is nothing of this that follows.) Then the pastor rehearseth to the people some sentence out of the scripture, of the remission of sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, the people either kneeling or standing all this while. Then the Gospel is read. Then the Absolution is again repeated. Then the rest of the Decalogue is sung. Then the pastor exhorteth them to pray. Then follows a very short prayerlike one of our collects, that God would give them grace to keep the commandments. Then the same collect is sung; and the pastor goes up into the pulpit, where he first prays, and then preaches upon the New Testament, beginning some one book of it, and

going on till he hath ended the whole book, in several sermons. Then a prayer. Then banns of marriage are published, baptism celebrated, the sick particularly prayed for, alms collected by the deacons. Then comes a long prayer, the same with that prescribed in the French form, for the whole church, after sermon. Then the Apostles' Creed. Then, when there is a communion, the pastor first rehearseth the institution of that sacrament out of 1 Cor. xi. Then he sub-joins an excommunication of all idolaters, blasphemers, heretics, schismatics, perjured, seditious, contentious, disobedient to parents, whoremongers, thieves, covetous, &c. and forbids any such to partake of the said supper. Then he makes an exhortation concerning the Lord's Supper. Then he communicates in both kinds himself; next the deacon in both kinds; then all the men first, and after them all the women, approach reverently to the table; where the pastor, at one end of the table, gives to every one of them the bread one by one; and the deacon, at the other end of the table, gives them the wine; a psalm of praise being sung all the while by the people. The pastor, in giving the bread to every one, says, "The bread which we break is the communion of the body of Christ." The deacon, in giving the cup, says to every one, "The cup which we bless is the communion of the blood of Christ." Then follows the same thanksgiving and benediction which is at this day used by the French protestants. Here ends the morning service.

1550.

p. 243.

At noon, after the singing of a psalm, the children are catechised and instructed in the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, for an hour.

At even, after a psalm was sung, a sermon. After the sermon, a prayer and the Benediction.

The daily service. Every morning a psalm is sung, a prayer, a sermon, a prayer and benediction in the pulpit.

The service of repentance. Every Tuesday was a day of more solemn devotion to deprecate God's

1550. judgment, and confess their sins in this form: a psalm, the Confession, a sermon, a long prayer, the same as above.

The service of baptism is the same which is used by the French, except that the parent and godfathers brought the child. The minister asked them, "Will you have this child baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost?" They answered, "This we desire," &c.

The service of the blessing of wedlock, and of visitation of the sick, the same with the French.

The service for ordination of ministers, and ecclesiastical discipline, not much differing from that which the French now use.

Orders of
council
for the
strangers
of Glasten-
bury.
Council
Book.

Further notices of this church of strangers at Glastenbury may be taken up from several orders that issued from the privy council concerning them, as they were taken out of the Council Book, viz. "Nov. 11, 1551. An order sent to Valerandus Polanus, chief and superintendent of the strangers, worstedmakers, at Glastenbury, signifying unto them, that order is taken with Henry Cornish for the conclusion of such conveniences as were drawn and articulated between the Duke of Somerset and the said company, willing him and them, for the acceptance of the said Cornish, as their director herein, as they had done heretofore.

"Ordered also, that Henry Cornish do agree with them for divers leases, &c.

"Ordered also, the auditor and receiver of the Duke of Somerset's lands to conclude such articles as were agreed upon, &c. and to take an account of Henry Cornish, appointed by the said duke to be the overseer of the said strangers, and to advance money for them.

p. 244. "March 22, 1551. Ordered that the Bishop of Bath, Sir Hugh Pawlet, Sir John St. Loo, &c. do consider the void places and rooms about the monastery of Glastenbury, that may be fittest for the placing such strangers there as are not already pro-

vided for : and to put the same rooms in such order as the said strangers may inhabit in them, as soon as may be ; having regard, nevertheless, to the best way of saving charges, as they think may be devised.

" Nov. 29, 1552. A letter sent to the Bishop of Bath, Sir John St. Loo, Sir Ralph Hopton, and — Clopwood, signifying, that it is agreed to provide for 36 household strangers at Glastenbury ; and for every of them so much ground as may keep two kine, as good cheap as other inhabitants do there commonly pay."

Add to the rest of the favours shewed to these strangers, exiles, planted at Glastenbury, what I find in the Council's Warrant Book, viz. " Decemb. an. 5. regis ; a free denizenship to Valerandus Pollanus, born under the emperor, with a clause written under the said bill, to make 69 like letters patents to 69 other persons, whose names are mentioned therein."

Martin Bucer, that godly confessor and public professor of divinity at Cambridge, died in February. King Edward, in his Journal, thought it not unworthy to make a memorial of this good man's death ; writing thereupon after this tenor : " Feb. 28, the learned man, Bucerus, died at Cambridge ; who was two days after buried in St. Maries church, at Cambridge ; all the whole university, with the whole town, bringing him to the grave, to the number of 3000 persons. Also there was an oration of Mr. Haddon, made very elegantly at his death ; and a sermon of (Dr. Parker.) After that Mr. Redman made a third sermon. Which three sermons made the people wonderfully to lament his death. Last of all, all the learned men of the university made their epitaphs in his praise, laying them on his grave." What time King Edward assigned for the day of Bucer's death, we saw above : but, according to Sleidan, he died the last day of February, save one : and, according to Nicolas Car, in his letter from Cambridge to Sir John Cheke, on the calends of March.

1550.

MSS. D.
Hen. D.
Episc.
Lond.K. Ed-
ward's ac-
count of
Bucer's
death.
Journal.

1550.
James
Bucer.

One James Bucer was minister of a Dutch church at Sandwich, about the beginning of Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1562; but whether he were a son of Martin Bucer I cannot affirm.

Melanc-
thon sent
for.
Council's
Warrant
Book.

For the supply of Bucer's room in Cambridge, to read sound divinity there, the king sent a Latin letter to the great learned German, Philip Melancthon, to come over into England; certifying him, that his majesty had elected him in Bucer's place in that university. But this letter was not writ till the month of May, in the year 1553; and probably Melancthon might have come over, had not the king's death prevented.

Bucer vi-
sits P.
Martyr at
Oxon.

The summer before his death, July 22, being S. Mary Magdalen's day, upon Martyr's invitation, Bucer came to Oxford with John Bradford, and some others, to see that university and his dear friend and fellow-professor; where, before he departed, he read a lecture in Christ-Church, upon that text, *Sanctifica eos, O Pater, in veritate*, &c. Though Bucer were well esteemed and highly valued by some of the best members of the university where he professed, yet, as his colleague at Oxon, he underwent much slander and disesteem from the general sort, addicted to asperse sobriety and godliness. Whereof, to give an instance, the two hopeful sons of Katharin, Duchess of Suffolk, being admitted students at Cambridge, and she, as it seems, for their sakes, some time sojourning there, had, among other kindnesses, sent Bucer a cow and a calf, towards the maintenance of his family. It happened that he walked out one day, for his recreation, into the fields to see them: upon this his enemies reported of him, that he was taught by a cow and a calf what he should read in the schools, as though they were some magic spirits that assisted him. Which coming at length to the good man's ears, he said in a joke, without any passion, "Behold! these are my masters, whence I have learned what I teach others: and yet they can neither speak Latin nor Greek, Hebrew nor German, nor

p. 245.
Defamed
and belied.
Vit. Juelli,
p. 260.

talk with me in any other language." To which I 1550.
will add one defamation more, and that as impudent
as uncharitable: the author, one Pontac, of Burdois,
having the face to publish it in print, in a book set
out not long after Bucer's death; that Bucer, upon
his deathbed, said, "That Jesus Christ was not the
promised Messias, but that we were to look for an-
other." Sufficiently confuted, not only by the long
course of his pious life, but also by those many per-
sons that were with him in his last sickness, and tes-
tified of the devout and holy end which he made.

Among his enemies, and those that opposed him His ene-
in the university, were Dr. Redman and Dr. Yong. mies.
Among his friends there were Dr. Parker, Dr. Had- His friends
don. Among those that consorted to him, were
Bradford, the holy martyr, and Roger Ascham, that
fine wit; one, whom for his great parts and inge-
nuity he loved much; whose frequent discourses
with him (as he told his friend Sturmius of Argen-
tine) were fresh in his memory: which were some-
times about the state and motions of religion and of Lib. 1.
the commonwealth; sometimes concerning the right Epist.
course and method of learning, and such like. For
Bucer was very useful in promoting learning and re-
ligion at home, as well as in the schools; communi-
cative in excellent discourses to as many as repaired
to him, as friends or learners. The forementioned
Ascham and he had much discourse together concern-
ing that learned man of Argentine, Jo. Sturmius,
and of putting him upon reading on Aristotle, by
their joint letters. The good Duchess of Suffolk
must be remembered with honour, who, knowing his
worth, cherished him in his sickness, by night and by
day; of whom she had a tender care, and endea-
voured his cure and recovery, if possible.

So wise and useful was the conversation of him Haddon's
and his fellow, the king's professor of Oxford, that a character
man, in those days of great fame for learning and of him and
virtue, who was acquainted with them both, called Martyr.
them, "That golden couple of fathers, and con- Answ. to
fo. 29. b.

1550. fessed, that he received an inestimable benefit of God, that he did once hear, see and know those notable fathers; esteeming more one day's conference with them, than all the vain-glorious pomp of Osorius, a Portugal bishop (who had spoken contemptibly of them), and that those two worthy personages did as much surmount him in wisdom and learning," &c.

A commis-
sion a-
gainst ana-
baptists.

p. 246.

We heard before of anabaptists, and such like sectaries, that shewed themselves in Kent and Essex; insomuch that the ecclesiastical courts were fain to take notice of them. But that cognizance, it seems, sufficed not: for in January a special commission was issued forth against them from the king, to one-and-thirty persons, *viz.* to Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Ely, London, Lincoln, Norwich, and Rochester; Nic. Wotton, Dean of Canterbury, Will. Petre, Will. Cecil, Richard Cocks, Anthony Coke, James Hales, Tho. Smith, John Cheke, Will. May, John Taylor, Simon Haynes, Gryffith Leyson, John Redman, Hugh Latimer, Giles Eire, Matt. Parker, Miles Coverdale, John Oliver, Richard Liel, Roland Taylor, Christopher Nevynson, Richard Goodrick, John Gosnold, Richard Wilks, Henry Sidal, and Nic. Bullingham; or to any three of them: whereof the archbishop, the Bishops of Ely, Norwich, and Rochester, Nic. Wotton, Petre, Cecyl, Cox, Hales and May, to be one. These were authorized to correct and punish all anabaptists, and such as did not duly administer the sacraments according to the Book of Common Prayer set forth by the king's majesty.

CHAP. XXX.

Cecyl becomes secretary. Gentlemen of the king's privy chamber. Sir Thomas Wroth. The Earl of Arundel. Bullinger's counsils to the king. Hoper and A Lasco. Ridley made Bishop of London. Visits his diocese. Gives orders. Ponet made Bishop of Rochester.

AND now, to turn our eyes a little to the king, 1550. he being now at Otelands, Dr. Wotton, the present secretary, a man much employed abroad in embassies, was released of his place; and, September 5, William Cecyl, Esq. was sworn secretary in his stead; though he seemed to have officiated in that place a year before, according to a diary of his own, wherein he writ, that in the month of September, 3 Edw. VI. he was chosen into the office of secretary; and in October following he had the grant of 100*l.* per ann. during pleasure, out of the augmentation office, as his salary. This man deserves to stand upon record, as meriting highly of this church, I may say, above any one person about King Edward, or Queen Elizabeth, and taking vast pains in settling it in that good constitution wherein it stands. He was a man of great wisdom, and sincere religion and integrity, and endued with abundance of admirable qualities, both as a statesman and a Christian: and was the very basis, under God, of Queen Elizabeth's government, and worthily esteemed among all men, in those days, the very Nestor of his age. But all this hath of late been swallowed up and clearly forgotten, because of one act of his, which is wont, by some, to be laid to his charge, viz. of getting the hundred of Nassaburgh, with the appurtenances, from the bishoprick of Peterburgh: and the observator upon Cranmer's Memorials is among this number, who falls very foul upon him, saying, "That he tore away from that bishoprick the far better part

Cecyl made secretary. Council Book.

His character.

p. 247.

1550. of the revenue thereof, and that he got a bishop removed that he might compass it." Which he had from Heylin, a too hasty and passionate writer. This is not a place to enquire into the truth of this accusation; which, for my part, I doubt of: but, I must needs say, it is very ungratefully done of the age, especially of the clergy, to set this great and good man in so bad a light, to blacken his memory as they do, and to forget so many and so great good turns, for one supposed ill one.

A new
master of
the rolls.

As there was now a new secretary, so there was, a little after, a new master of the rolls. For in December the office of master of the rolls was granted to John Beaumont, Esq. for life, with all fees and profits thereunto belonging, in as large and ample manner as Sir Robert Southwel lately had it. But how he managed this place for his own advantage, we shall hear hereafter.

The king's
favour for
Sir Thom.
Wroth.

The king had divers sober and learned men about him, gentlemen of his privy chamber; in whose wise and learned conversation he was much delighted, and as much profited. For great care was taken by his uncle, the duke, to have only such about his person; and for these, as a grateful master, he had a great kindness, and expressed it in royal bounty to them. And whosoever of these was in greatest favour with him, surely Sir Thomas Wroth, a gentleman of the West, was one of those that received the largest share of benefits from him: for he not only knighted him, but heaped great wealth, honours, offices, and possessions on him; whereof these were some:

Grants to
him.
Book of
Sales.

In the fourth year of his reign, of his special grace and in consideration of service, he granted him the reversion of the office of keeper of his manor, Elsing, in Endefeld, in the county of Middlesex, and the office of steward and bailiff of the manors of Elsing and Worcester, and of the manor of Edelmeton, and of keeper of the New Park in Enfeld, after the death or surrender of John, Earl of Warwick. The value of which offices were five marks and sixty shillings *per*

annum, and eight-pence *per diem*. The patent dated 1550.
March 10.

April 9th following, for the like consideration, the king granted him the manors of North-hall, Down-Barnes, and Hamsted, with their appurtenances, rights and members, in the county of Middlesex; parcel of the possessions of the late bishoprick of Westminster. The value whereof yearly amounted to 65*l.* 15*s.* 0*b.*

July 24th following, for the like consideration, the king granted him the lordship and manor of Bardfield, and the town of Bardfield in Essex, and the manors of Chigwel and West-Hatch, with the appurtenances in the same county. Value yearly 77*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.* Rent reserved, 11*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.*

December 29th following, a patent, dated at Greenwich, was granted to Sir Thomas Wroth, of the privy chamber, of the manors of Lidiard in Somersetshire, and Theydon Boyce, and the scite and demean lands of Berden in Essex, with the appurtenances; the scite and demean of Abendon, and other lands: to have to him and his heirs, in respect of an annuity of an hundred mark already cancelled; which lands were of the yearly value of 84*l.* 8*s.* 11*ob.* *q.*

Chancellor
Goodrick's
Ledg.
Book.
Warr.
Book.

p. 248.

In the fifth of the king he had an annuity of 100*l.* granted him out of the bishoprick of Winchester.

In June, the sixth of the king, he had the office of keeping the chief house and messuage of Sion, and the office of steward and bailiff of the manor of Isleworth, in the county of Middlesex; and all other lands, tenements and hereditaments in Isleworth, Twickenham, Heston, Whitton, Sutton, Brainford, &c. in the same county, for life; with all profits, and a fee for keeping of the house of Sion, &c. (which house and lands belonged before to the Duke of Somerset.) In September after he granted the same Sir Thomas, the rich furniture and bedding of the same house, which had been the said duke's.

Warr.
Book.

Besides which, in the third of the king, he granted him the rectory of Mytton in Yorkshire, with all the

1550. rights and appurtenances in the said county, and in the county of Lancaster, and five messuages in London, during the life of Bartholomew Burgoyn, clerk.

L. Dyer's
Rep.
Fol. 167.

The Lord Rich and Sir Thomas Wroth were joint patentees for an office in Waltham Forest (it was, I suppose, that of lieutenant of the forest) for the term of their lives. The Lord Rich (Wroth being fled abroad) under Queen Mary, surrendered his patent in the chancery, and there it was cancelled. And upon this a new patent was granted of the queen to Sir Edward Waldgrave, one of her privy council. But when Wroth returned under Queen Elizabeth, he sued for the said office; alledging, that he had never surrendered his patent. And so, I suppose, he had it again, as his son Sir Robert enjoyed it after him.

Sir Thomas Wroth had also of the king the manor of Ewing in the county of Hertford, and the manor of Newton in the county of Somerset.

The king sometimes would exercise and play with him: and once he won of the king ten yards of black velvet, which he received, by order, from the king's wardrobe.

His posterity.

This gentleman was an exile under Queen Mary, with his family, but returned into England after her death, and was in great favour with Queen Elizabeth, and lived many years in singular reputation in Enfield, augmenting his estate, and serving his country long in the quality of a member of parliament. He had issue, Robert (who was knighted) Richard, Thomas, Gersom, and John; whereof Gersom was born in exile, on which account he had his name; and by a private act, in one of Queen Elizabeth's first parliaments, he was made a free denizen. Sir Robert kept up the state of the family, and enlarged his possessions by the purchase of Lucton, or Loughton, in Essex, an estate belonging to the Duchy of Lancaster, whereof his father-in-law had a long lease before. He bought also of the queen divers other leases of lands thereabouts, that formerly belonged to the abby of Waltham. I meet with John Wroth, Esq. of this

family I doubt not, who obtained a pardon of King Richard III. with a clause in the same of fines, amerciaments, and other debts and accounts by him due. For that he was escheator in the counties of Somerset and Dorset. The name and family still continue in Essex, but the estate greatly diminished: the uncertain lot of all secular things. Pardon, reader, this digression, which my neighbourhood to that seat, and knowledge of that family, drew from me. (p. 249.)

I subjoin the mention here of another courtier, of greater quality than Wroth; I mean Henry, Earl of Arundel, a person of ancient nobility, and lately lord chamberlain. The last year he was fined 12,000*l.* for misdemeanors. And now again this year I find another for the payment of 1000*l.* to the treasurer of the *augmentations*. And a debt owing to the king lay upon him, viz. 8800*l.* taxed and cessed upon him for a full recompence of certain contempts by him against the law made and committed. For which he had given eight several recognizances, remaining in the Court of Chancery, whereby he stood bound to the king. What these contempts were I know not. King Edward in his Journal calls them, *certain faults*; and writes, that he had committed them within twelve years. So it seems he was now called to account for twelve years past: which was somewhat hard, and a sign he had enemies at court. But he received the favour to have a clear discharge from this debt. For in January a warrant was sent to the Lord Rich, lord chancellor, to cancel every of the said recognizances, and the enrolments of them; so that the said earl, his heirs, executors, &c. may be thereby discharged. The court was minded not to lose this nobleman. But yet it seems he could not long hold in, an heartburning being between some of the court and him: for in the next year I find this earl, with the Earl of Southampton, wholly discharged the council-board, and commanded to keep his house. And the year after

1550.

A debt of the E. of Arundel pardoned.

(p. 249.)

1550. that, he was fain to pronounce a solemn submission before the king, as we relate in due place.

Endea-
vours to re-
store the
duke to his
protector-
ship.

The parliament that had been sitting from the 4th of November, broke up the first of February. The Duke of Somerset, notwithstanding his enemies among the nobility, remained still favoured by the commons. And some, as it seems, in the lower house, were consulting among themselves for his restoration to the office of protector of the king's person, which was taken away from him in his late troubles; but seemed to be prevented by the breaking up of the session. Yet they intended the next session to set about it. In the mean time the lords were to be prepared; and Whaley particularly, the receiver for Yorkshire, endeavoured to persuade divers noblemen to make the duke protector the next parliament. For which Whaley was brought into trouble in February. And the Earl of Rutland was one that was a witness against him.

Bullinger
dedicates a
book to the
king.

In March (whether that were in the latter end of the year 1549, or the beginning of 1550, I know not) Henry Bullinger, the chief minister of Zurich (a wise man and of great esteem in the protestant churches) dedicated, in a long epistle to King Edward, his third, and part of his fourth Decad; being many learned discourses upon the chief heads of religion: invited, I suppose, by some in England, for the young king's benefit, so to do; that king having a great reverence in his mind for the foreign learned reformers. In the enterance of his epistle, being a stranger, he makes way for his admission and liberty of speech to the king, by promising to shew him, in a few words, the certain causes of the happiness or misery of kings and kingdoms.

(p. 250.) "Your royal majesty (as he begins) would, I know, admit to speech some new guest, that should undertake, from the judgments of the wisest men, to lay before you, in short, what the real causes were of the *felicity* or *infelicity* of kings and kingdoms. Your majesty therefore will not, I hope, exclude me from

access to you, who do surely promise you, clearly and evidently to demonstrate the very reasons thereof before you; that whosoever hears me needs not attend with any painful diligence to apprehend me, but bring with him only a benevolent mind. For, by God's help, I shall offer it in that manner, that it shall not only be perceived by their understanding, but be as it were seen with their eyes and felt with their hands. And this fetched not from the dubious placits of men, but the most certain oracles of the true God." 1550.

Then he suggested to him what those things were which the wise men of the world agreed in, to be proper to render a king or a kingdom very happy: namely, "If he were a wise king that presided and governed; if he had about him for his counsellors many such as were men of prudence, stayed in years, faithful, and such as understood the affairs of the world: if he had captains that were valourous, well-exercised, and fortunate in war: if he were furnished with plenty of all things: if his kingdom were on all parts well fortified, and, in a word, his subjects all of one mind, loyal and obedient. These things, he said, were rightly and prudently spoken: but that there was another singular and most excellent thing omitted, without which no true prosperity could be obtained or preserved; and where that was, those other things mentioned before would also be." After this manner of preface did Bullinger heighten the pious king's expectation; which this learned man satisfied in his following discourse; directing him straightway to God's word. "God, said he, who suggests the most wise and absolute counsils more succinctly and better than the wisest men, thus pronounceth in his gospel: 'But rather seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you.' And again, 'Blessed are the eyes which see the things which ye see; for I say to you, that many kings and prophets have desired to see and hear those things which ye see and hear, and have not seen nor heard them.' Therefore, as

1550. he subjoined, being warranted by the holy oracles of God, I pronounce, that those kings shall be happy, who offer and subject themselves and their kingdoms intyrelly to Jesus Christ, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords; acknowledging him to be the highest prince and monarch, and themselves his vassals, liegemen and servants: that in all things follow not their own wills, nor the laws of men, contrary to those that are God's; nor the good intentions of men, but the very laws of the highest and eternal king and monarch; and that deliver them to their subjects to be followed by them: reforming all things according to the rule of God's word only. For so they shall enjoy most flourishing and happy kingdoms, and reign therin, wealthy, victorious, long and happy."

(p. 251.) Then he shewed the king, "How God commanded the kings of old, that they should read the book of the law; and quoted that place in Deuteronomy xvii. "When the king sitteth in the throne of his kingdom, he shall take the book of the law of God, that he may read in it all the days of his life, and do those things, and not depart from them, either to the right hand or to the left."

Then he represented to the king, in a long series, the history of the Kings of Judah and of Israel, and of other foreign kings, both before Christ and after; and how the godly, and those that took heed to God's law, were prosperous, and the neglecters thereof unsuccessful and miserable. And when he came to young Josiah, the King of Judah, he took occasion to lay down his example at large before this young king; expatiating, "How peaceably and prosperously he reigned, of whose faith and obedience, which he most religiously yielded to God, the scriptures speak; how the admonitions of his father's counsellors moved him not; how when once he heard the words of the Book of the Law, found in the Temple by Hilkiah, the high priest, he gave himself wholly to God and his word, and not expecting the opinions or reformation of other kings and kingdoms, he in time took care

of his own subjects, and began to set upon the work of reformation when he was young, being but eighteen years old: and that in this reformation he esteemed the rules of the holy scriptures alone to be followed; not the actions of kings or predecessors, nor the prescription of long time, nor the suffrages of numbers of men: but calling together his own people, and propounding the Book of the Law in the midst of them, appointed all things to be done according to that rule: and that hence it came to pass, that he spared not the old high places of Solomon and Jeroboam, set up against God's law, nor the most ancient rites and ceremonies. In short, he shewed how that king overthrew whatsoever was set up in the church and kingdom against God's word: and lest any should lay to his charge as though he were too bold or too severe, in these his deeds, the scripture, as he added, gave him this testimony: 'That before him was no such king, who turned to the Lord with his whole heart, and with his whole soul and strength, according to all the law of Moses: neither after him arose any like him.'

Towards the conclusion, he applied himself to the king more closely, telling him, "That the reason of all that he had said before was, that he should hold it for a most undoubted truth, that true prosperity was to be procured by him no other ways, than by submitting himself and his whole kingdom to Christ, the highest Prince, and by framing all matters of religion and justice throughout his dominions, according to the rule of God's word; not stirring one inch from this rule; propagating the kingdom of Christ, and trampling upon that of antichrist, as he had happily begun. Not that the king wanted, as he said, his admonition or teaching, carrying in his mind that heavenly Teacher that suggested to him all the doctrines of true religion; and having that most sacred book, the *Bible*, in which, as in a most perfect canon, was contained and delivered the whole substance of our salvation; having about him men that were

1550. learned, wise, godly, bold, well skilled both in divine and human laws, prudent, hearty lovers of sincere truth, and well spoken of in foreign countries. But he hoped, as King Hezekiah, though he made use of those great prophets Esay and Micah, yet he refused not to be advised by the ordinary Levites; so his
(p. 252.) majesty should receive some fruit and benefit by his discourse; having, twelve years before, dedicated to his father, King Henry of happy memory, a book concerning the authority of the holy scripture, and the institution and function of bishops, against the Roman superstition and tyranny: and he found that work had some good effect in England." By such dedications and counsils as these, the young king's mind was mightily whetted and quickened to the taking care of religion; and I make no doubt, Bullinger and others were instructed by some good men here at home to make these kinds of addresses to him.

Dedicates
another to
him.

This epistle and book was presented to the king by the hands of Hoper, Bishop of Gloucester, personally acquainted with Bullinger: to whom the king declared his good acceptance thereof, and the respect and esteem he had for the reverend author. In August ensuing, Bullinger dedicated the remaining sermons of the fourth Decade unto the same king; which the author said he did offer him with more confidence and assurance than he had done the former, since he understood by that holy and vigilant bishop the king's gracious good-will towards him. In the dedication of these sermons he suggested to his majesty, "That he had his eye upon nothing else but what he had mentioned to him before; namely, that he might assist, according to the gift of God given unto him, the business of Christian piety, happily reviving in his flourishing kingdom, under his favour and the counsils of the best of his nobility. He shewed him, that for this new birth of the gospel, all the faithful throughout the Christian world did congratulate him and his kingdom, beseeching Christ to bring to a happy conclusion what had been so happily begun in his fear."

He acknowledged that this work, by the king undertaken, was great, and full of labour and trouble; but he who said, *I will be with you always to the end of the world*, would not be wanting to his godly endeavours." Then that reverend father thought it convenient to take this opportunity to refute a very plausible plea, that was wont then to be urged in Germany and in England, and particularly to the king, to divert the present purging of corrupt religion (and this was much in the mouths of the more *politic* sort), namely, that such haste ought not to be made by private authority, but that men ought to stay for the determination of a general council in controversies of religion; without whose judgment they pretended it was not lawful, no, not for a kingdom, much less for any commonwealth, to make the least alteration in religion, once received and hitherto observed. But to this he put this answer into the king's mouth: "That the prophets and apostles sent us not to the councils of elders or priests, but to the word of God. And he alleged that of the prophet Jeremy: 'Quomodo dicitis, sapientes sumus, et lex Domini apud nos est? Verè mendacium operatus est stylus mendax scribarum,' &c. He added, "that the authority of the prophets and evangelists persuaded to go on, and further, with suitable encreases, the reformation of religion once undertaken in the fear of God, out of the word of God; and not to regard councils, which were governed by the affections of men, and not by the word of God."

1550.

Chap. 8.

Then he went on to shew, "How little might be expected from the decisions of councils, which the examples of some of the last ages might teach for four hundred years past and better; that for five hundred years and more, the best and most religious men have cried out of the superstitions, errors, and abuses, crept into the church; that the salt of the earth was become unsavoury, that is, that the ministers of the church were corrupted by sloth, ignorance, and vile actions, and all good disciplin was gone: upon which

(p. 253.)

1550. account councils of priests were often called together by popes, princes assisting. But what was done, what amendment there was of doctrens, of teachers, and of disciplin, the thing itself spake: for how much the oftner councils met, so much the more prevailed superstition, error in doctrin, abuses in rites, pride, luxury, covetousness, and all manner of corruption, in the teachers or priests, and, in short, a most foul neglect in all good disciplin; for such presided in those councils, who ought to have been first brought into order, or altogether banished out of the society of holy men. Neither did they in those councils treat of lawful causes, nor in a lawful way; for the word of God obtained with them neither its authority nor dignity. Nor did they admit to the discussion of causes those whom they ought chiefly to have admitted, but whom they themselves would. Neither did they seek the glory of God and the safety of the church, but themselves, and the glory and plesures of the world. And from the present council (that of Trent) what they could promise to themselves, though they were blind, they might even feel."

And then, having thus represented what little good was like to come from councils, he applied himself to the king, with these words: "That when these things were as clear as the sun, he did most prudently and religiously, in not looking for the determination of a general council, but proceeding, without more ado, to reform the churches in his kingdom according to the rules of both Testaments, which we believe aright to be inspired by the Holy Ghost, and to be the very word of God."

(229) He shewed moreover, in the next place, "That it was lawful for every Christian church, much more Christian kingdom, without consulting with the church of Rome and her members, intirely to reform religion, by them depraved, so it were according to the rule of God's word. And then propounded to the king the example of Josiah, whose doings would teach him what he might do, and do by divine right;

how that most holy king understood, by reading of God's word, and by considering how divine worship and other matters stood then in the church, that there was a very extraordinary swerving from the simple truth by his forefathers. Presently, therefore, he called together his princes, and all the estates of his kingdom, together with all the priests. And in this assembly it was not long disputed, whether they should follow the example of their ancestors, rather than simply to receive that which God had commanded; whether should they believe the scripture or the church: but that immediately the king commanded *all to do according to God's precepts*, making no account of ancient custom, or of the church that then was. And therefore, that his majesty could not follow better and safer counsel." Thus seasonably did this grave and learned man instruct this young and towardly prince, and arm his mind against an objection which subtil men in these times were apt to insinuate to him, to stop him in his commendable endeavours for a reformation. (p. 254.)

In March, after the said Bullinger dedicated the remainder of his Decades to one of this king's council, Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, and afterwards Duke of Suffolk; which was advisable to be done for the confirming this and other great leading men, and such as were always at the king's elbow, in the proceedings that were making in religion. To which this grave man apprehended some stop might be made by a plausible occasion that now happened; which was, the issuing out of a bull of the indiction of the Œcumenical Council (as they called that of Trent) on the calends of May next (1551): "From whence, as some every where, he said, seriously looked for a reformation of the church, so he supposed some in England expected the like; and that therefore they judged there should be a cessation from the reformation begun: he therefore advised this nobleman, that he should diligently see and watch what damage the kingdom might hence sustain." And then he pro-

1550.

Bullinger
writes an
Epistle
Dedica-
tory to the
Marquis of
Dorset.

The rea-
son,

1550.
And substance
thereof.

The true
purpose of
calling the
Council of
Trent.

ceeded to shew, by solid arguments, "That the expectation of a reformation thence would be most vain: for that the council was called by this pope upon no other ends, than for the confirmation of the old errors and superstition, and for the overthrow of the reformation begun in Germany, England, Denmark, and other nations of Christendom, and for the oppression of the pure and sincere doctrine of the gospel. Here he shewed, how the calling of the council was in express words, *For the extirpating of heresy*; and Pope Paul did accuse and condemn, as heretics, those that professed the gospel, and required reformation according to the word of God: and how the prelates of the church took an oath to the pope and church of Rome (there set down); so that they could not do any thing else than what he would have them, and what tended to his safety and security."

He took occasion to examine some of the former decrees of this council, by which it appeared, as clear as the light, for what end it was indited by the pope:

"Not that the truth should be found out, or illustrated by the scriptures, but that the scriptures should be reduced into order, so as to serve for the preserving and confirming the dignity, honour, wealth, and superstition of those men: not that the churches might be *reformed*, but that they might be brought back into the old *deformation*. And therefore he advised the Marquis, and the rest in England, that they should not remove their eyes from that light, which whosoever followed had the light of life. Go on, go on, said he, in Christ's name, to reform what needs reforming. Ye should not sin, though ye never returned into favour again with that novel Roman church. He knew, he said, this nobleman needed not instructors, being so well instructed in true religion, and having such learned men about him; among whom he named two, who I suppose were his chaplains, viz. Robert Skinner and Andrew Wullock (perhaps Bullock): yet he hoped this labour of his would be well taken, seeing he intended no-

thing thereby but the public weal and safety; that the kingdom of the Son of God, which in that time began to flourish again, as well in England as elsewhere, might spread every where. And so taking notice of his nobility and royal blood, and what a refuge he was to poor strangers, and a Mecænas of students and learned men, and persuading him to persist therein, he concluded, desiring him to recommend him to the noble-minded John, Earl of Warwick, to whom he wished all happiness, and offered all services." Dated from Zurick, in the month of March, 1551.

And indeed great was the brotherhood and friendship between the foreign divines and our's. A Lasco was one of these, who had lived in Helvetia, and was greatly acquainted with Bullinger. In this year 1550, wherein his German church was first constituted in Austin Friars, I find Hoper spending a whole day in friendly converse with him and some of his church. A Lasco had wrote to Utenhovius, his elder and assistant, to invite Hoper and his wife, who was an Helvetian woman, to dinner with him; propounding, that they should meet the next day, at eight in the morning, at Utenhovius's house, and confer about certain business relating to religion, I suppose, and their church, between themselves and some of their members, and then to dine with A Lasco, and spend the afternoon in conversation. Utenhovius repaired to Hoper, shewed him A Lasco's letter, and Hoper, at the foot of it, writes an answer; which, for the sake of the reverend martyr's memory, I shall here set down, as I took from the original:

"S. P. Per me non stabit, quin, Deo volente, cras adero; et si valetudo uxoris meæ non obstet, votis D. nostri A Lasco annuet. Hodie multa capitis gravedine fuit mulctata. Scio, et si corpore aberit, mente nos comitabitur. Quod perpetuo erga vos faciet Deus suo spiritu. Interim ematur aliquid, quod cum gratiarum actione una accipiamus; ego aliquod, si Deo visum fuerit, sumptus faciam. Dominus vos, &c. T. T. Jo. HOPERUS."

1550.

(p. 255.)

A Lasco and Hoper appoint a meeting for conference.

Ex Bibli-oth. Eccl. Belg. Lond.

Hoper to A Lasco.

1550.
Hoper and
Bullinger
friends.

And, to take in one thing more, though it happened in the year before this, to shew the good correspondence between Hoper and the Switzers; when Bullinger had drawn up a — in the matter of the sacrament with Calvin, he sent it unto Hoper here, and prayed him that Utenhovius might see it: as I find by a manuscript letter of Bullinger to Utenhovius, here in England, 1549.

Bishop
Ridley
visits his
diocese of
London.

Ridley, who was now entered upon the government of the see of London, did this year institute his primary visitation; wherein what reformation he intended to make may be seen by the injunctions which he set forth, for a uniformity in his diocese: which were printed by Reynold Wolf the same year. They imported, "That there should be no reading of such injunctions (given before by other popish bishops) as extolled and set forth the popish mass, candles, images, chauntries. That ministers counterfeited not the popish mass, as in kissing the Lord's table, washing their hands or fingers after the gospel, or receipt of the holy communion, shifting the book from one place to another, laying down and licking the chalice, blessing their eyes with the sudary of the communion, or the patin thereof, or crossing the head with the same, holding up the forefingers and thumbs joined together towards the temples of the head after the receiving; making any elevation, ringing the sacring bell; with such like strange and superstitious ceremonies, forbid by the king's Injunctions. Also, none to receive the communion but such as should be ready with meekness to confess the articles of the Creed, upon request of the curate. None to make a mart of the holy communion, by buying or selling the receipt thereof, as was sometimes used to be done before. And wheras some used the Lord's board after the form of a table, and some of an altar, therefore wishing a godly unity to be in all the diocess, and considering that the form of a table might more move the hearts of the simple from the old superstitious opinion of the popish mass, and to the right use of the holy supper, the curats and

churchwardens were exhorted to erect and set up the Lord's board after the fashion of an honest table, decently covered, in such place of the choir, or chancel, as should be thought most meet by their discretion: so that the ministers might with the communicants have their place separated from the rest of the people; and to take down and abolish all other bytables and altars. Ministers, immediately after the offertory, in time of communion, to admonish the communicants, saying these, or such like words: 'That now was the time, if it pleased them, to remember the poor man's chest.' That the homilies be read orderly, without omission of any part therof. Common prayer to be had in every church upon Wednesdays and Fridays. Curats to be diligent to teach the Catechism upon Sundays or holy days, whensoever just occasion was offered; and at the least every six weeks once, to call the parishioners, and present himself ready to instruct and examine the youth. None to maintain purgatory, invocation of saints, the six articles, bedrols, pilgrimages, relicks, rubricks, primers, justification of man by his own works, holy bread, palms, ashes, candles, creeping to the cross, hallowing of fire, or altars, or such like abuses. Ministers to move the people to often and worthy receiving the holy communion; to come to church diligently, and there to behave themselves reverently, godly, and devoutly. That churchwardens permit not any buying, selling, gaming, or outrageous noise, or tumult, or other idle occupying of youth, in the church, church-porch, or yard. None to minister the sacraments in open audience of the congregation, or presume to expound the holy scripture, before they be lawfully called therunto, and authorized in that behalf." This is the sum of the said Injunctions. The Bishop of Sarum hath exemplified them at large in his History, from a printed copy; which may be seen in the Collections to his second part, only omitting two pertinent allegations of scripture, which are added in the conclusion, viz.

1550.

Prov. xv. "The ear that hearkeneth to the reformation of life shall remain among the wise. He that refuseth to be reformed, despiseth his own soul; but he that submitteth himself to correction is wise."

And,

3 Reg. xviii. Elias. "How long halt ye between two opinions? If the Lord be God, follow him; but if Baal be he, then go after him."

Besides these Injunctions, Bishop Ridley set forth articles also at this visitation; which be printed in Sparrow's Collections.

An ordina-
tion by
Bishop
Ridley.
Regist.
Rid.

(p. 257.)

June 24, ensuing, the said bishop conferred holy orders upon divers persons, having been first (*viz.* June 23) examined by Henry Harvy, LL.D. the bishop's vicar-general, and John Skory, S.T.B. his chaplain. They were ordained before the high-altar at St. Paul's, according to the rite, manner, and form of the Church of England, lately published and enjoined: whose names were Edmund Turges, M.A. Richard Fletcher (the same, I suppose, who afterwards was Dean and Bishop of Peterborough, and Bishop of London, successively); John Pelling de Hermonuseg, in Essex, born in the town of Lewis, (of whose name and posterity ever since have been some worthy clergymen); Thomas Forelore; Lancelot Thexton, M.A. fellow of St. John's, in Cambridge, born in Bawtry, in the county of Richmond; James Clayton, living in Hackney; John Rose, of Lewes; John Bee, M.A. fellow of St. John's, in Cambridge; Henry May, B.A. fellow of St. John's, in Cambridge; Richard Walker, B.A. student of Christ College, Cambridge; Francis Randal, William Bocher, B.A. of Malden, in Essex; Odel Hebburn, William Harley, of Ipswich; William Cotinge, of Middleton, in Kent; Reginald Blooke, John Wright, of Stratford at Bow; Richard Grason, vicar of Chesterford Magna; John Finch, of Billerica; Thomas Warter, Edm. Thompson, John Heron, M.A. Mr. John Fox, M.A. living with the Duchess of Suffolk, (the famous martyrologist) born at Bos-

ton; Henry Markham, M. A. chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury; Mr. Thomas Lever, M. A. fellow of St. John's, in Cambridge, afterwards master of the said house, a learned and pious man, and an exile under Queen Mary: all ordained deacons, to the number of twenty-five.

1550.

Again, August 10 following, the bishop ordained, at Fulham, these persons: John Bradford, his chaplain, and after an holy martyr under Queen Mary; John Horton, M. A.; Thomas Sampson, born at Playford, in the county of Suffolk, who afterwards was Dean of Chichester, and, under Queen Elizabeth, Dean of Christ-Church, Oxon, from whence he was deprived in the contention for cap and surplice: all these were fellows of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. And besides these, there were two more ordained, viz. Roger Hart, of Stebunhith; and Lever, aforesaid, who was ordained priest, the rest deacons.

Another ordination.

Sept. 7, was another ordination at Fulham, of one person, namely, Grason, made priest, and ordained deacon in June before.

Another.

Nov. 9, another, when Lawrence Nowel, afterwards Dean of Litchfield, and brother to Alex. Nowel, Dean of St. Paul's, was ordained, living then at Sutton Colfield, in Warwickshire; together with Richard Fletcher, B. A. afterwards Bishop of Bristol, Worcester and London, successively; and Edmund Thompson, of Southwark Hospital, ordained priests. These were Bishop Ridley's ordinations in his first year.

Another.

Dr. John Ponet, once of St. John's College, Cambridge, afterwards chaplain to King Henry VIII. and successively to the archbishop, a man of great parts and acquired learning, succeeded the said Bishop Ridley in the diocese of Rochester, being consecrated in June: and on the same day had the following favour granted him by the council: "Upon consideration that Mr. Ponet, now elected Bishop of Rochester, hath no house to dwell upon, it is agreed, that he shall enjoy his benefice (which was Ashtis-

Ponet made Bishop of Rochester. Council Book.

1550. No commendams to bishops. ford, in Kent) in *commendam*. But henceforth it is decreed, that no bishop shall keep other benefice than his bishoprick only."

(p. 258.)

CHAP. XXXI.

The state of the universities. The evil of impropriations. Revenues of the monasteries misused. Books now set forth.

The universities in ill condition.

Lever preaches at the Cross.

Against the misuse of the revenues of abbies, &c.

THE universities were now but in a sorry declining condition, occasioned by the discouragements given to learning, the laity laying hold of the spiritual preferments so much as they did, designed and appointed for the reward and maintenance of the clergy. This abuse gave divers good men occasion to speak their minds: and, among the rest, so did one Thomas Lever, fellow of St. John's College, (of whose ordination mention was made before,) who preached at Paul's Cross, December 14, upon this text, 1 Cor. iv. 1. "Let a man so esteem of us as of the ministers of Christ," &c. In this sermon he undertook to shew the causes of God's anger against England; one whereof he made to be, the great people about the king's majesty, their obstructing him from doing that good he fully intended, for the relief of the poor, and for the advancement of learning, by means of the colleges and chantries given him by parliament: which those men, by their importunity, got away by way of gift from him, or exchanged for impropriations.

But hear that reverend man speaking his mind in his own words: "If ye had any eyes ye should see and be ashamed, that in the great abundance of lands and goods taken from abbies, colleges and chantries, for to serve the king in all necessities and charges, especially in the relief of the poor, and for maintenance of learning, the king is so disappointed, that both the poor be spoiled, all maintenance of learning

decayed, and you only enriched. And because ye 1550.
 have no eyes to see with, I will declare, that you
 may hear with your ears, and so perceive and know,
 that where God and the king have been most liberal
 to give and bestow, there you have been unfaithful to
 dispose and deliver. For according unto God's word
 and the king's plesure, the universities, which be the
 schools of all godliness and vertue, should have been
 nothing decayed, but much encreased and amended
 by this reformation of religion. As concerning God's
 regard for the upholding and encrease of the univer-
 sities, I am sure that no man knowing learning and
 vertue doth doubt. And as for the king's plesure, it The favour
of King
Edward,
 did well appear, in that he established unto the uni-
 versities all privileges granted afore his time: as also
 in all manner of payments required of the clergy, as
 tithes and first-fruits, the universities be exempted.

"Yea, and the king's majesty, that dead is, did And King
Henry, to
the univer-
sities.
 give unto the university of Cambridge, at one time,
 two hundred pounds yearly to the exhibition, and
 finding of five learned men, to read and teach divi-
 nity, law, physick, Greek and Hebrew. And at an-
 other time thirty pounds (it should be 300*l.*) yearly,
in liberam et puram eleemosynam, in free and pure
 alms; and, finally, for the foundation of a new col- (p. 259.)
 lege, so much as should serve to build it, and reple-
 nish it with *mo* scholars, and better living, than any
 other college in the university afore that time. By
 the which every man may perceive, that the king
 giving many things, and taking nothing from the uni-
 versities, was very desirous to have them encreased
 and amended.

"Howbeit, all they that have known the university The decay
of Cam-
bridge.
 of Cambridge, since that time that it did first begin
 to receive these great and manifold benefits from the
 king's majesty at your hands, have just occasion to
 suspect, that you have deceived both the king and
 the university, to enrich your selves. For, before
 that you did begin to be the disposers of the king's
 liberality towards learning and poverty, there were in

1550. houses belonging to the university of Cambridge, two hundred students of divinity, many very well learned, which be now all clean gone home ; and many young toward scholars, and old fatherly doctors, not one of them left. One hundred also of another sort, that having rich friends, or being beneficed men, did live of themselves in ostles and inns, be either gone away or else fain to creep into colleges, and put poor men from bare livings. Those both be all gone, and a small number of poor, godly, diligent students, now remaining only in colleges, be not able to tarry, and continue their studies, for lack of exhibition and help.

The diligence and course of the students.

“ There be divers there which rise daily about four or five of the clock in the morning, and from five till six of the clock use common prayer, with an exhortation of God’s word, in a common chapel : and from six until ten of the clock use ever either private study, or common lectures. At ten of the clock they go to dinner, whereas they be content with a peny piece of beef among four, having a few pottage made of the broth of the same beef, with salt and oatmeal, and nothing else. After this slender diet, they be either teaching or learning until five of the clock in the evening ; whenas they have a supper not much better than their dinner. Immediately after which they go either to reasoning in problems, or to some other study, until it be nine or ten of the clock ; and there being without fires, are fain to walk, or run up and down half an hour, to get a heat on their feet when they go to bed.

The citizens excited to exhibit to them.

“ These be men not weary of their pains, but sorry to leave their studies ; and sure they be not able, some of them, to continue, for lack of necessary exhibition and relief. These be the living saints which serve God, taking great pains in abstinence, study, labor and diligence, with watching and prayer. Whereas Paul for the saints and brethren at Jerusalem, so I for the brethren and saints at Cambridge, most humbly beseech to make your collections among

the rich merchants of this city, and send them your 1550.
oblations unto the university.

“ But to return unto them that should have better provided for learning and poverty in all places, but especially in the universities. Look you, whether there was not a great number both of learned and poor, that might have been kept, maintained and relieved in the universities, which lacking all help, or comfort, were compelled to forsake the universities, leave their books, and seek their livings abroad in the countries.

The king's
provisions
for learn-
ing and
poverty
abused.

“ Yea, and in the country many grammar-schools, which be founded of a godly intent, to bring up poor men's sons in learning and vertue, now be taken away by reason of a greedy covetousness of you, that were put in trust by God and the king, to erect and make grammar-schools in many places, and had neither commandment, nor permission to take away the schoolmaster's livings in any place. Moreover, such charitable alms were there yearly to be bestowed in poor towns and parishes upon God's people, the king's subjects; which alms, to the great displeasure of God, and dishonour of the king, yea, and contrary to God's word and the king's laws, ye have taken away. I know what ye do say and brag in the same places, That ye have done as ye were commanded, with as much charity and liberality towards poverty and learning as your commission would bear and suffer. Take heed whom ye slander; for God's word, and the king's laws and statutes, be open unto every man's eyes: and by every commission directed according unto them, ye both might and should have given much, whereas ye have taken much away.

(p. 260.)
The wrong
done by
commis-
sioners.

“ Was it not a godly and charitable provision of the king, to give unto the university 200*l.* yearly for excellent readers, 300*l.* yearly in pure alms, and many 100*l.* also to the foundation and erection of a new college? And was it not a devilish device of you to turn all this the king's bounteous liberality into *impropriations* of benefices; which be papistical

The evil of
exchanges
for improp-
riations.

1550. and uncharitable spoils of most necessary provisions for poor parishes? Learn understanding, you that play unwise parts among the people. You fools once wax wise. *Qui plantavit, &c.* He that set the ears, shall he not hear the sorrowful complaints of poor parishes against you that have by impropriations clean taken away hospitality, and much impaired the due livings of God's ministers, the people's instructors and teachers? *Qui figurat oculum, &c.* He that fashioned the eye, doth not he behold, that the best lands of abbies, colleges and chantries, be in your hands, and evil impropriations conveyed to the king and to the universities, and bishop's lands? *Qui corrigit, &c.* He that correcteth, and punisheth the heathen, lacking the light of God's word, for the continual abuse of natural reason, will not he reprove and condemn you, who have good reasonable wits, God's holy word, the king's laws and statutes, and much power and authority given unto you to edify and do good; seeing it is abused of you to destroy and do hurt? Surely the abbies did wrongfully take and abuse nothing so much as the impropriations of benefices. Nothing is so papistical as impropriations be: they be the pope's darlings and paramours; which by the devilish device of wicked Balaamites be set abroad in this realm, to cause the learned men of the universities, and all bishops that be godly men, the pope's enemies, to commit spiritual fornication with them."

To this I subjoin what the same preacher spoke in another sermon: "The king's majesty that dead is, did give a benefice to be improprieate to the university of Cambridge, *in liberam et puram eleemosynam*. Howbeit, his hands were so impure, who should have delivered it, that he received 600*l.* of the university (p. 261.) for it. Whether that this 600*l.* were conveyed to the king's behoof privily for the alms, which by plain writing was given freely, or else put in some Judas's pouch, I would it were known; for now by such charitable alms the king is slandered, the parish undon,

and the university in worse case than it was before. 1550.

This for the universities."

Nor would the said Lever, being as a conscientious, Lever preaches again in the Shrouds, and before the king. so a bold preacher, change his argument in two other solemn sermons, which he preached in two great auditories not long after; the one in the Shrouds of St. Paul's, the fourth Sunday after Twelftide; the other before the king, on the third Sunday in Lent. In both which he laid open, in all freedom and plainness of speech, without respect of any the greatest person, the vices and abuses of those times, viz. concerning the revenues of the demolished abbeyes, chantries, colleges, fraternities, and hospitals, converted to other uses than were originally intended, the covetousness of the gentry, the buying of spiritual livings, the neglect of those parishes, whereto were annexed the richest parsonages, the little care priests took of their flocks, and such like; concerning all which, after this manner he expressed his mind (which I do the rather set down, because it may serve somewhat to explain the history of these times).

"In suppressing of abbeyes, cloisters, colleges, and chantries, the intent of the king's majesty that dead is, was, and of this our king now is, very godly; and the purpose, or else the pretence of others, wondrous godly; that thereby such abundance of goods as was superstitiously spent upon vain ceremonies, or voluptuously spent upon idle bellies, might come to the king's hand, to bear the great charges necessarily bestowed in the commonwealth; or part unto other men's hands, for the better relief of the poor, maintenance of learning, and the setting forth of God's word. Howbeit, covetous officers have so used this matter, that even those goods which did serve to the relief of the poor, the maintenance of learning, and to comfortable necessary hospitality in the commonwealth, be now turned to maintain worldly, wicked, covetous ambition.—You which have gotten these goods into your own hands, to turn them from evil to worse, and other goods mo from good unto evil,

The revenues of monasteries and chantries misused.

1550. be ye sure, it is even you that have offended God, beguiled the king, robbed the church, spoiled the poor, and brought the commonwealth to a common misery. It is even you that must either be plagued with God's vengeance, as were the Sodomites, or amend by repentance, as did the Ninevites. Even you it is, that must either make restitution, and amend speedily, or else feel the vengeance of God grievously.—Sure I am, that if at the ordering of these things there had been in the officers as much godliness as there was covetousness, superstitious men had not been put from their livings to their pensions out of those houses, where they might have had schoolmasters to have taught them to be good, (for many schools were intended, and others were swallowed up if they pertained to these religious foundations,) and for less wages; or, for the reservation of their pensions, received into cures and parsonages, whereas they can do no good, and will do much harm."

The gentry covetous practices in the country.

(p. 262.)

The practices of the gentry towards their tenants he thus set forth: "Now the people of the country use to say, that their gentlemen and officers were never so full of fair words and ill deeds, as they now be; for a gentleman will say, that he loveth his tenant, but he keepeth not so good an house to make them cheer as his father did; and yet he taketh mo fines and greater rents to make them needy, than his father had. Another will say, that he would buy a lordship of the king, for the love that he hath to the tenants thereof; but as soon as he hath bought it, by taking of fines, heightening of rents, and selling away of commodities, he maketh the same tenants pay for it, (and so he in effect obtains the purchase, and makes others pay for it). Another saith, that he would have an office to do good in his country; but as soon as he hath authority to take the fee to himself, he setteth his servants to do his duty; and instead of wages he giveth them authority to live by pillage, bribery and extortion in the country."

Then he declaimed against another evil practice

then common, which was the buying of parsonages and benefices, whereby the tythes coming all in laymen's hands, parishes were left destitute of priests and ministers to perform holy offices, and so the people were left in ignorance and irreligion; which Lever thus lamented: "Wheras they do not only buy lands and goods, but also lives and souls of men from God, and the commonwealth, unto the devil and themselves. A mischievous mart of merchandry is this; and yet now so commonly used, that thereby shepherds be turned to thieves, dogs to wolves, and the poor flock of Christ, redeemed with his precious blood, most miserably pill'd and spoiled, yea, cruelly devoured. Be thou merchant in the city, or be thou gentleman in the country; be thou lawyer, be thou courtier, or what manner of man soever thou be, that cannot, yea, if thou be doctor of divinity, that will not do thy duty, it is not lawful for thee to have a parsonage, benefice, or any such living, except thou do feed the flock spiritually with God's word, and bodily with honest hospitality."

1550
Buying
and abuse
of parson-
ages.

(232.9)

And again, concerning the neglect of livings, and the little care taken of Christ's flock, thus he reprehended those that were guilty: "Those parsonages that be most in number, and greatest in value throughout all England, be not now shepherds houses to lay up fodder to feed the poor sheep of the parish, but thievish dens to convey away great spoils from all the rich of the parish. There is no person there to relieve the poor and needy with natural sustenance, in keeping of house, and to feed all in general with the heavenly food of God's word by preaching; but there is a parson's deputy, or farmer, which having neither ability, power, nor authority to do the parson's duty, in feeding and teaching the parish, is able, sufficient and stout enough, to challenge, and take for his master's duty the tenth part of all the parish. Now, my lords, both of the laity and the clergy, in the name of God, I advertise you to take heed; for when the Lord of Lords shall see the flock scattered, spilt and

Neglect of
livings.

These par-
sons be
thievish
dens.

1550. lost, if he follow the trace of the blood, it will lead him even straitway unto this court, and unto their houses, whereas these great thieves, which murder, spoil and destroy the flocks of Christ, be received, kept and maintained; for you maintain your chaplains to take pluralities, and your other servants no offices than they can, or will discharge. Fie! for sin and shame; either give your servants wages, or else let them go and serve those which do give them wages: for now your chaplains, your servants, and you yourselves, have the parsons', the shepherds', and the officers' wages; and neither you, nor they, nor others, do the parsons', the shepherds', or the officers' duty; except, peradventure, ye imagine that there is a parish-priest curate which doth the parson's duty. But although ye do so imagine, yet the people do feel and perceive that he doth mean no other thing, but, *Pay your duty, pay your duty.* Yes, forsooth, he ministereth God's sacraments, he saith his service, he readeth the homilies, as you find flattering courtiers, which speak by imagination, term it: but the rude lobs of the country, which be too simple to paint a lye, speak foully and truly as they find it, and say, he minisheth God's sacraments, he slubbereth up his service, and he cannot read the *humbles.*"

Bale puts
forth his
Votaries.

And as Lever made and printed these remarkable sermons this year, so John Bale now set forth as notable a book (allowing for his broad way of writing), namely, "The Acts and unchast Examples of religious Votaries, gathered out of their own legends and chronicles." He designed to complete this history in four books; which should detect the foul lives and practices of the monastics, both men and women, from the first times of their institution till that last age, wherein they were dissolved in England. To these four books he intended to give several titles, according to the various ages of monkery, viz. of their Rising, their Building, their Holding, and their Falling. The first part was to treat of their *uprising* to mischief. The second part was to shew their hasty

building, by hypocritical monks to establish the wicked kingdom of Antichrist. The third was to declare the crafty *upholding* of their proud degrees and possessions, by the wily and subtle slights of the four orders of friars. The fourth should manifest their horrible *fall* in this latter age, by the well-grounded doctrine of the true preachers and writers. The first part he finished in the year 1546; and the second in this year 1550; and in the same year printed both together at London, in 12°. and dedicated them to King Edward. The second part reached to the year 1200. The two last parts he promised should speedily follow; but *I think they never did*: the author probably being advised to suppress them for decency, if not for religion's sake, an assault on which might seem to be made, if so many abominable and shameful facts should come to light, as Bale had collected together. He had got the *Detecta*, taken down in writing by King Henry's visitors, sent abroad to visit all the monasteries in England and Wales, and had once exposed them in a parliament; which were of such a nature that chaste ears could not hear them.

The same Bale, the same year, set forth an Apology against a rank Papist; answering both him and the Doctors, that neither their Vows, nor yet their Priesthood, are of the Gospel, but of Antichrist: printed also at London, in 12°. *At the end is a brief Exposition upon the 30th chapter of Numbers, which was the first occasion of his writing this book.* This tract also the author dedicated to King Edward. The Apology begins thus (which will shew the occasion of the book): "A few months ago, by chance as I sat at supper, this question was moved unto me by one that fervently loves God's verity, and mightily detesteth all falshood and hypocrisy, Whether the vows expressed in the 30th chapter of Numeri give any establishment to the vow of our priests, now to live without wives of their own, or nay? For the same party, as I perceived anon after, had been assaulted and chased the day afore with that most frivolous

1550.

And an
Apology
concerning
Vows.

(p. 264.)

1550. disputation. To whom I remember I gave this short answer, That they made for that kind of vowing nothing at all, but condemned it. For, as I then judged of that matter, so judge I now still, that those vows were of things then present, and so forth continuing till Christ coming in the flesh, concerning only the nation of the Jews, and now to be of no force towards us. Forsomuch as they were not expressly confirmed, declared and taught of Christ, as were the moral precepts of the law, Matt. v. Moreover, I considered that Christ being the clear light of the world, John viii. and the brightness of his Father's glory, Heb. i. left Moses far behind him, as a bare shadow or figure, constituting one only religion for us and the Jews; whose perfection standeth not in the works of the law, neither in renouncing of Christian marriage, but in a pure and constant faith in him and his gospel. In the end I was desired to write a sentence or two, what I thought in discharge of so single and sleeveless a matter; whereupon the next day I turned me towards a window, and wrot the few sentences," &c. This writing was delivered to one who was the captain of that place where Bale then was, being by birth a man of worship. Gently was it received at the first; and so entertained by the space of five or six weeks: but within that time falling into the hands of a certain chaplain, he framed some answer to Bale's writing. And Bale again replied thereunto. And of all this consisted the aforesaid book.

This year also he again put forth his Image of both Churches at London, in 12°. being an exposition upon the Revelations.

And two
other
tracts.

To these let me add two little tracts more, composed by the same author, this, or rather the former year. The one was, "A Dialogue, or Communication to be had at a Table between two Children, gathered out of the Holy Scripture, by John Bale, for the Use of his two young Sons, John and Paul, beginning, "*Paulus junior filius*. Forsomuch as God hath constituted me a creature reasonable, and endued with

an understanding, I am naturally desirous to know to what end I am created," &c. The other is, "A Confession of the Sinner, after the sacred Scripture, collected by John Bale, at the request of a faithful friend of his;" beginning, "I acknowledge unto my eternal and everlasting God, that of mine own nature I am, as others, but a carnal thing, and the miserable child of Adam, justly exiled with him in his transgression," &c. 1550.

CHAP. XXXII.

(p. 265.)

The English Bible, and other books set forth this year. Vezy, Bishop of Exeter, resigns. Sir Martin Bowes, of the Mint, gives up his office. Some account of him.

THIS year the Holy Bible, translated by Miles Coverdale, was printed in quarto, by Andrew Hester, for the more common and private use of Christians; as he had set it forth in folio the year before: which is commonly called Tyndal's Bible. The same year (viz. 1550) he set forth also the New Testament in octavo, conferred with the translation of William Tyndal; and printed by Reinold Wolf. Coverdale's Bible, And Testament.

About this time also certain sermons of Ochine, the Italian, being five-and-twenty in number, concerning *the predestination and election of God*, were printed by John Day, in octavo; having been translated out of Italian into English by A. C. gentlewoman; which capital letters, I make no question, meant Anne Cook, one of the learned daughters of Sir Anthony Cook, married after to Sir Nic. Bacon, lord keeper of the great seal. Ochine's Sermons.

Now did Thomas Paynel, an old servant of King Henry, print a book, entitled, "The Pith and most noble Sayings of all Scripture: gathered by Thomas Paynel; after the manner of Common Places, very necessary for all those that delight in the Consolations of the Scripture." It was dedicated to the Right excellent and most gracious Lady, the Lady Mary's A book called The Pith and most noble Sayings of Scripture.

1550. good grace. In which Dedication it appeared, that after he had made these collections out of scripture, he was advised by a learned man to publish them for men's consolation and learning. And assigning the cause why he chose her to patronize this his work, he wrote, "That it was her grace's fiery and fervent mind to vertuous and godly living, her true intent and natural inclination to the same, her liberal hand and favour to those which diligently exercised themselves in the spiritual and moral studies of the sincere word of God, and lastly, her grace's benignity and gentleness of long time bountifully to him declared, enforced him to publish it in her grace's name. "Then he exhorted her, "To read the fruitful lessons thereof, and to digest them thoroughly, to practise and prove in very deed, how sweet the Lord's words be; to use the profitable doctrines of that little book. For so doing her grace should learn daily more and more truly to know the Lord, to taste, relish and to ensue his holy and sweet word, to love and fear him, to be his faithful and obsequious handmaiden, and a diligent ensuer of his will and steps, most pleasantly and voluntarily to bear the yoke of his most comfortable commandments." Thus he gravely bespake her upon this occasion, as though he hoped hereby to win her to the gospel.

(p. 266.)
Crowley's
Epigrams.

This year also Robert Crowley printed one-and-thirty epigrams compiled by him. Wherein, as the title tells, *are briefly touched so many abuses, that may and ought to be put away.* They mainly drive at exposing the common vices, and vicious men of that age; and they shew several customs and practices of that time. Though the verses are old fashioned rhimes, yet they want not sometimes good fancy and wit. And these are the various subjects of them, as they are placed alphabetically by the author: "Of Abbeyes. Alehouses. Alleyes. Almes Houses. Of Baylif Arrants. Bauds. Beggars. Bear Bayting. Brawlers. Blasphemous Swearers. Of Collyars. Commotioners. Common Drunkards. Common

Lyars. Of Dice Players. Double beneficed Men. 1550.
 Of the Exchequer. Of Flatterers. Fools. Forestallers.
 Of Godless Men. Of Idle Persons. Inventers of
 strange News. Of Laymen that take Tithes. Lease-
 mongers. Of Merchants. Men that have divers
 Offices. Of Nice Wives. Of Obstinate Papists.
 Of Rent-raisers. Of Vain Writers. Vain Talkers
 and Vain Hearers. Unsatiabie Purchasers. Usurers.”
 Whereby a notable insight is given into matters,
 customs and abuses of these times. But to give a
 taste of these epigrams, I refer the reader to the
 Repository.

O O.

Now was the “Vision of Pierse Plowman” the ^{Pierse} ^{Plowman.}
 second time printed by the aforesaid Crowley. To
 which were added certain notes and quotations in the
 margin, giving light to the reader. The book was
 very ancient, written in the reign of King Edward III.
 For in the second side of the sixty-eighth leaf,
 mention is made of a dear year, John Chichester
 being then maior of London; which was anno 1350.
 In which time it pleased God to open the eyes of
 many to see the truth; giving them boldness of heart
 to open their mouths, and cry out against the works
 of darkness, as did Wickliff; who also in these days
 translated the Holy Bible into the mother tongue.
 The writer of this book, whoever he was, in reporting
certain visions and dreams that he feigned himself to
 have had, did christianly instruct the weak, and
 sharply rebuke the obstinately blind. Nor was there
 any manner of vice that reigned in any state, or
 order of men, which he did not learnedly and wittily
 lash. And (of which much notice is wont to be
 taken) at the fiftieth leaf something is writ by way of
 prediction of the fall of abbeys. The printer, Crow-
 ley, being a learned man, and desirous to know the
 name of the author, and the time of his writing, got
 together such ancient copies as he could come by,
 and consulted such men as he knew to be more exer-
 cised in the study of antiquity. And by some of
 them he learnt the author’s name was Langland, a

1550. Shropshire man, born in Cleybury, about eight miles from Malvern Hills. And among the ancient copies, one was noted to be written in the year MIIIICIX. The book is writ in metre, but much different from the manner of our modern verse, there being no rhymes, or chiming of words; but the nature of the metre is, that three words at the least of each verse begin with one and the same letter. As for example, the two first verses of the book run upon the letter S. the next upon H. and the next upon W. viz.

(p. 267.)

In a Summer Season, when Set was the Sun,
I Shope me into Shrobbs as a Shepe were.

In Habit as a Heremyt unHoly of Werks,
Wend Wyde in thys World Wonders to hear.

And again,

On a Mey Morning on Malvern Hills,
Me beFel a Ferly of Fayin me thought, &c.

Marbeck's
prayers
and an-
thems.

Now also John Marbeck, an excellent musician for church musick, once belonging to the choir at Windsor, now of the king's chapel, published prayers and anthems, set by him for the use of the said chapel, in quarto, printed by Grafton. I shall not pretend to so much skill as to make observations upon the compositions; but I cannot but remark how, in the office of burial, the prayer there, after the corpse was put into the earth, varied from our present office: in that prayer is made for the deceased, and the soul departed is held to be in a middle state till the last judgment. For thus it ran: "We commend into thy hands of mercy, most merciful Father, the soul of this our brother departed, N. and his body we commit to the earth. Beseeching thine infinite goodness to give us grace to live in thy fear and love, and to die in thy favour: that when the judgment shall come, which thou hast committed to thy well-beloved Son, both this our brother and we may be found acceptable in thy sight, and receive that

1550.
 blessing," &c. And then follows, "Almighty God, we give thee hearty thanks for thy servant whom thou hast delivered from miseries of this wretched world, from the body of death and all temptation; and as we trust hast brought his soul, which he committed into thy holy hands, into sure consolation and rest; grant, we beseech thee, that at the day of judgment his soul, and all the souls of thy elect departed out of this life, may with us, and we with them, fully receive thy promises, and be made perfect altogether, through the glorious resurrection of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord." And again, after some psalms and versicles, this prayer: "O Lord, with whom do live the spirits of them that be dead, and in whom the souls of them that be elected, after they be delivered from the burthen of the flesh, be in joy and felicity; grant unto this thy servant, that the sins which he committed in this world, be not imputed unto him, but that he escaping the gates of hell, and the pains of eternal darkness, may ever dwell in the region of light with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the place where is no weeping, sorrow, nor heaviness. And when that dreadful day of the general resurrection shall come, make him to rise also with the just and righteous, and receive his body again to glory, then made pure and incorruptible: set him on the right hand of thy Son Jesus Christ, among the holy and elect. That then he may hear with them these most sweet and comfortable words: 'Come to me, ye blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom which hath been prepared for you from the beginning of the world.' Grant this, we beseech thee, O merciful Father, through Jesus Christ our Mediator," &c.

Jug, citizen and stationer of London, had a licence from the king, dated in January, or his sufficient deputies, to print the New Testament in English, as well in great volumes as in small, for the space of certain years.

Cardinal Pole writ and finished, the thirteenth of

(p. 268.)
 For printing the
 New Testament.

Cardinal
 Pole's
 book.

1550. the calends of February, a book, "De summo Pontifice Christi in terris Vicario," &c. ; but not printed before the year 1569, at Lovain.

De Cœlibatu Sacerdotum.

Richard Smith, of Oxford, now set forth a book, "De Cœlibatu Sacerdotum, et votis Monasticis contra Petrum Martyrem," octavo ; which he afterwards recanted in London and Oxford.

Cranmer's Book of the Sacrament.

But chiefly, Archbishop Cranmer's book must not be forgotten, published by him this year in octavo, intituled, "A Defence of the true and catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ ; with a Confutation of sundry Errors concerning the same. Grounded and established upon God's holy Word, and approved by the Consent of the most ancient Doctors of the Church. Printed by Reynold Wolf, at London." The same book was afterward printed in Latin at Embden, anno 1557. Of which excellent book thus a foreigner writ, that lived in those times : "Thomas Cranmerus præcipuos abusos missæ papisticæ, libello Anglico confutavit, &c. Hoc scripto plurimi ad sanam de eucharistia doctrinam adducti sunt."—"That by this writing very many were brought to embrace the sound doctrine concerning the sacrament, the author having therein confuted the chief abuses of the popish mass."

Lavateri Hist. sacram.

Bishop Gardiner's book on the same subject.

The same year did Gardiner, late Bishop of Winchester, set forth a book in answer to the former, bearing this title : "An Explication and Assertion of the true Catholic Faith, touching the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar ; with the Confutation of a Book written against the same." Printed in France.

Traheron sets forth Vigon of Surgery.

Now also did Bartholomew Traheron, a learned man, and well studied in the divinity of the gospel, and an exile for religion under Queen Mary, set forth a book in folio of one Vigon, a famous Italian chirurgeon, translated by him out of Latin into English, and printed by Edward Whitchurch : it was intituled, "The most excellent Works of Chirurgery, made and set forth by Master John Vigon, Head Chirurgion of

our Time in Italy." The dedication was, "To the earnest Favourer of all good and godly Learning, Master Richard Tracie:" beginning, "God, the mighty Governor of all things, long time sithence hath witnessed, by that excellent prophet, Moses, that for the transgression of his holy laws he would plague the people with sundry and grievous diseases: howbeit our blindness hath been so great, that in the multitude of most filthy and shameful botches, sores, and other piteous maladies, we have not perceived how horrible a thing sin is, and how present vengeance, the despising and neglecting of God's dreadful commandments *bringeth upon us*; no, not when we have been burnt with fiery carbuncles, nor when our *flesh* hath been torn from the bones and eaten up with loathsome cankers; nor when we have been miserably tormented with the most filthy, pestiferous, and abominable disease, the French, or Spanish pox. In these, I say, so manifest punishments of God for the outrageous transgression of his laws, we have not acknowledged the exceeding wickedness of our nature, neither have prayed for the Holy Spirit of God, which might change and transform our corrupt birth, and create in us new hearts, with the print of fear and humble reverence to Godward. Yea, we have been so far off from such a purpose, that some of us have *bragged of our natural strengths, to our own shame and confusion.*" Those filthy diseases, it seems, were ripe in these days; and to these causes did good men now deservedly attribute them, such need was there, in these very evil days, for the light of the gospel to be brought in, for the reforming and amending the wretched looseness of the age. The reason of his dedicating this book to this gentleman, he expressed in these words: "I dedicate it to you, good Master Tracie, not that I think it a thing fit for you (inasmuch as you have bestowed the most part of your time in the fruitful studies of holy scriptures), but that at this time it may be a monument and token of my mind towards you, which cannot be (except I

1550.

(p. 269.)

1550. were chaunged into a worse nature than any barbarous Scythian is of) but most loving. For when I was destitute of father or mother, you conceived a very fatherly affection toward me, and not only brought me up in the universities of this and foreign realms, with your great cost and charges, but also most earnestly exhorted me to forsake the puddles of sophisters, and to fetch water from the pure fountains of the scripture. Wherefore, seeing you have been the author and cause of that simple learning that I have obtained, I thought it my duty to render the fruits thereof unto you. And albeit that both you desire, and I delight, more to travail in the holy writings," &c. I set down this the more at large, to retrieve the memory, as much as may be, of worthy men in former times, and to revive some knowledge of them and their good deeds. Such an one was this Richard Tracie, son, as it seems, of him of that surname in Gloucestershire, who in Henry VIII. his time was, for his good religion, digged out of his grave after his death, and burnt; from whom this gentleman did not degenerate in learning or piety.

A Debate
between
the He-
ralds of
England
and France.

Lastly, to all the rest I add one book more that came abroad this same year, which was intituled, "A Debate between the Heralds of England and France. Compiled by John Coke, Clerk of the Statutes of the Staple of Westminster. Imprinted by Richard Wier." The occasion and subject of this book he sets down in his preface, viz. that being one day in Brussels in Brabant, and being then Secretary to the worshipful Company of Merchant Adventurers of the English Nation, he chanced, in a printer's shop, to find a little pamphlet in French, called, "The Debate of Heralds of England and France;" wherein were contained the commodities, in effect, of both the said realms, with the victorious acts and prowesses of sundry noble princes, ruling in times past over the said regions: which, after he had perused, he perceived the French herald wholly without desert to give the honour to France, and in all things debased

this noble realm and people of England; and further, found the said book to be compiled of hearty malice, little or nothing tracing the chronicles of the one realm or the other. Therefore, out of zeal to his country, this author pretends to shew the truth touching the said debate, out of a great many ancient historians, which he had diligently consulted, in the behalf of England; as Eutropius, Colman, Bede, Gildas, Orote, *Chronica Chronicorum*, &c. The book begins thus: "*Prudence*, upon a day for pleasure, past her time in a garden; where, finding her self accompanied with two heralds, the one of England and the other of France, and minding to put unto them a question, to know if they were expert in their offices, reasoned with them in this manner:—*Prudence* speaketh. Fair Sirs, said she, you have a goodly office, which all noblemen ought to love and favour; for to your reports emperors, kings, princes, ladies, and other great lords, submit themselves: you are judges of worldly honours, be it in arms, as in assaults, battails, rencounters, sieges, justs, tourneys, or in shows, pomps, feasts, and obsequies; and in all other things don in magnificence, and tending to honour: by you they ought to be published," &c. 1550. (p. 270.)

An endeavour and intent there was to let the world see another tract about this year (though it as yet came not forth): it was a book in verse, called, "*Diacosio-Martyrion*," writ by White, Warden of Winchester, with some assistance. In truth a very trifling piece, levelled against Peter Martyr. He sent it to Lovain to be printed there: but upon the knowledge that such a book was by him sent thither, he was imprisoned, and other his friends, who assisted in the making or transporting of it, were in great danger of suffering by it. Hereupon the Lovain printer stopped or suppressed it, and sent it back, Nov. 1, 1553: and then it was printed and published in London. This account is told of it in the preface to the reader. It was dedicated, "Ad Serenissimam Illustrissimamque Principem MARIAM Regis ED-

Diacosio-
Martyrion.

1550. WARDI VI. sororem;" and this dedication was not altered, though published when she was actually queen. Before it is an epistle to Peter Martyr, full of reproaches for his tenets about the eucharist, his lectures at Oxford, and his refusing to dispute with Dr. Smith, when he was challenged; and he says there, that Peter Martyr, to avoid the dispute, complained to the government against Smith, and forced him to flee, to escape imprisonment. But the Memorials of Cranmer, chap. xiv. will give a true representation of that affair.

Bishop
Voisey re-
signs.

John Voisey, or Veyzey, alias Harman, was Bishop of Exeter, and so continued to this year; but seldom resided upon his bishoprick, living for the most part in Warwickshire, where he minded secular matters, tending chiefly to the improvement of the town of Sutton Coldfield, his native place: to whose absence from his diocese the rebellion in the West was partly attributed. The king and court had an honour for the man, having been King Henry VIII.'s chaplain, dean of his chapel, employed by him in honourable employments abroad in embassies; and at home he had been governor to the Lady Mary, when she was the king's only daughter, and intitled Princess of Wales, Lord President of Wales, and one of those that assisted at the consecration of Archbishop Cranmer. He was now grown very ancient, and so the less fit to look after his great diocese; and therefore, having made good provisions for himself out of the temporalities thereof, did now in November resign it into the king's hands by word of mouth, as it seems, to the Earl of Bedford, being lord lieutenant of those western countries; which resignation was so acceptable and well taken at this juncture, when there was such need there of an active and preaching bishop, that a letter of thanks was written from the king and council to the said bishop, for surrendering to the king his office, or charge, by reason of his age, not able to discharge the same according to his conscience, as it was reported by the Earl of

The coun-
cil thanks
him.
Warr.
Book.
(p. 271.)

Bedford, Keeper of the Privy Seal. Yet he outliving King Edward, was replaced by Queen Mary in his old see, though unable to mind it; and then Dr. Moreman was his coadjutor, as Coverdale was under King Edward, and, upon his resignation, his successor, as we shall see under the next year.

Sir Martin Bows, Knight, that had been long Under-Treasurer of the Mint, and faithful in his place, did now, about January, surrender his office in the state, as the bishop had surrendered his in the church; which I the rather mention here, because John Stow, in his Catalogue of Citizens that had been Benefactors, leaves *him wholly out*, as also doth Dr. Willet, in his Catalogue. For as he was a very wealthy man, so was he largely charitable. He built an hospital at Woolwich, in Kent, where he had an house and lands. He appointed a sermon to be preached yearly at the church of St. Mary Woolnoth (where he lived, and where he was buried), at or near St. Martin's Day; at which sermon the Company of Goldsmiths (whom he made his trustees) are to be present, and certain of his gifts are then and there to be disposed by them: whose streamers and cognizances hang still up (or lately did) in the said church, and are to be renewed from time to time by the said company as they decay: which they are to do in memory of his large benefactions towards them; for he gave them much plate, and curiously wrought, and many houses and lands. He was lord mayor, *anno* 1545, 37 Hen. 8, and sheriff five years before. But to return to the surrender of his office: The commissioners appointed to hear and determine all accounts and reckonings of the king's mints within the realm (viz. the Earl of Warwick, Sir William Herbert, and Sir Walter Mildmay), found him in debt to the king 10,000*l*. And for his honest and faithful managery of his place, and surrender of his fee of 200 marks; first, he had an annuity granted him of 200 marks, and the confirmation of 66-13-4. granted him by King Henry, for his good service done in the said office: secondly, he

1550.

Sir Martin
Bows, of
the Mint,
surrenders
his office.

1550. had a grant to pay and discharge the foresaid debt as followeth; that is to say, in hand 3000*l*. and so yearly 1000*l*. till all were paid: lastly, a pardon of all treasons, trespasses, contempts, &c. done and committed by the said Martin, concerning money and coin of the king's majesty and his father, and of all unjust and false making of money and payments of the same; and of all other offences done contrary to the effect of the common law, and to any statute, act, provision, proclamation, &c. or to any prescriptions, customs, or any other conventions concerning the making and coining of the said money; and of all forfeitures of goods, chattels, lands, and tenements, and pains of death, and of all imprisonments and other pains whatsoever; and of all prosecutions, condemnations, judgments, and indictments, and the execution of them, which by reason of any of them he should run in the king's danger; and of all manner of debts, accounts, arrearages of accounts, acts, and demands, that against the said Martin, or Thomas Shepwith, or either of them, as executors of the last will and testament of Rafe Rowlet, Esq. (to whom, it seems, Sir Martin succeeded in the Mint), or against Sir Rafe Rowlet, Knt. as son and heir of the said Rowlet, by reason of any recognizances, obligations, bills, &c.

(p. 272.)

CHAP. XXXIII.

The king's good progress in learning and virtue. The Marquis of Northampton. Commissioners for French matters. French crowns. A Scotch ship stayed. Earl of Southampton. A ward: Thomas, Lord Howard. Mines found, &c.

The king's
progress in
his studies,

THE king was now thirteen years of age, and by this time understood Latin, spake it, wrote it, properly, skilfully, fluently, and all this with judgment too. He made also good progress in the Greek tongue, and with great ease turned Latin into Greek.

He had learnt over logic ; and was now entering into Aristotle's Ethics in Greek, (for Cicero's Philosophy he was also versed in.) For being once instructed in those universal precepts and parts of virtue and vice, he would be able to bring a steady judgment to look into the various manners of men, which he should meet with plenteously in reading of history : which was the reason his learned tutor Cheke assigned for this course of study, in his answer made to Ascham ; who had asked him why he had not rather put him upon reading the Institution of Cyrus, a book very proper for a king to read. When these Ethics were done with, which would take up the king but a little time, then he was to peruse Aristotle's Rhetoric.

But together with his aptness and great progress in learning, he had a great disposition to virtue, a love of religion, a good judgment and other excellent qualifications. Ascham, who knew him well, and lived then at the court, in a letter, dated in December, to the learned Sturmius at Argentine, gave this account of him, " That his nature equalled his fortune, but his virtue, or to speak as a Christian, the manifold grace of God in him, exceeded both. That he did to admiration outrun his age in his desires of the best learning, in his study of the truest religion, in his will, his judgment, and his constancy."

Though there wanted not for some about his person, who laboured to divert him from his studies and care of his kingdom, to pastime and gaiety, which therefore the graver sort, as they had opportunity, endeavoured to arm the good king against ; one whom we have mentioned before, took the confidence from the pulpit, to bespeak him with respect hereunto, after this manner : " It is not unlike, but if your majesty, with your council, speak unto your nobles for provision now to be made for the poor people, ye shall find some, that setting afore your eyes the hardness of the matter, the tenderness of your years, and the wonderful charges that should be requisite, will move and counsel you to quiet yourself, to take your

1550.

And in virtue.

Some endeavour to take the king off from his present good course.

Lever's sermon before the king, on the third Sunday in Lent.

1550. ease, yea, to take your pastime, in hawking, hunting,
(p. 273.) and gaming." And then turning his speech to such
an one, he thus accosted him, "Thou hast no tast
nor savour how delicious God is unto a pure con-
science in godly exercise of good works. But all that
thou regardest and feelest is voluptuous pleasures in
worldly vanities; and therefore thou dost not per-
ceive, how that they which be endowed with a special
grace of God, may find more pleasure and pastime
in godly governance, to keep together and save simple
men, than in hawking and hunting, to chase and kill
wild beasts. Yea, a godly king shall find more plea-
sure in casting lots for Jonas, to try out offenders
which trouble the ship of this commonwealth, than
in casting dice at hazzard, to allow and maintain by
his example such things as should not be suffered in
a commonwealth. Yea, surely a good king shall
take far more delight in edifying with comfort, and
decking with good order, the congregation of his peo-
ple, the church and house of God, the heavenly city
of Jerusalem, than in building such houses as seem
gay and gorgeous, and be indeed but vile earth, stones,
timber and clay. Such like answer ought your ma-
jesty and all noblemen to make, if ye find any of your
counsellors more carnal than spiritual, more worldly
than godly."

I shall now set down some matters of more public
concern or special remark, that passed, and were
signed by the king and his council, beginning at the
month of October.

Offices
granted to
the Mar-
quis of
North-
ampton.

William Parr, Marquis of Northampton, brother
to King Henry's last wife (being therefore one whom
King Edward called uncle,) was one of the favourites
of this reign. Besides his advancement to be lord
high chamberlain of England, he had a grant, dated
Octob. 20, of the office of keeping the park of Hend-
ley, and the little park of Windsor, together with the
constablenesship of the castle of Windsor; and the keep-
ing of all the forests, parks, warrens, and other places
belonging to every of the same offices, for life; with

all profits thereto belonging : with the fee of six-pence per day for keeping Hendley Park, and four-pence per day for keeping the little park of Windsor. To him also was granted by patent, dated the same day, the office of keeping the laund of Benfield, in the forest of Rockingham, in the county of Northampton, and of the game within the said laund, with the outwoods of Thornehaw, Woodhaw, and Corbe woods, within the said forest; and the keeping of Gratton woods, and of the west bailifwick, within the said forest, with all fees and profits. Also he had a grant for life of all the chief messuage, called the Laund Lodge, *within the said laund*; together with a lease to him for life of the herbage and panage. Of the same date was granted also to this lord the office of bailiff of Surrey, alias Bagshots Bailes, in the forest of Windsor; and the office of steward and bailiff of the manor of Godalming, and the hundred of Godalming, in the county of Surrey; with the gubernance of all the king's tenants and subjects within the said manor and hundred, inhabitant; with the keeping of the chief house and scite of the late prior's farm, of Guildford, in the said county, and the master of the game within the park of Whitley, for life. All which offices were surrendered by Sir Michael Stanhop.

1550.

Formerly
held by Sir
Michael
Stanhop.

A commission was issued out, Novem. 16, to John Wallop, Thomas Wyat, and Richard Rede, knights, William Cook, LL.D. and Francis Hall, esquire, or to any four, three, or two of them, to hear and determine with the French king's commissioners, all controversies between the king's majesty and the said French king; touching as well the right of title of lands and possessions, as also of lordships and territories, as well within the king's majesty's limits, as within the French king's, upon the marches of Calais.

(p. 274.)
A commis-
sion for the
controvers-
ies with
the French
about the
borders.

A new commission, but to the same tenor and purport, was made, only leaving out Sir Thomas Wyat, upon some reason of sickness, or the like, and putting Sir Richard Blount in his room. A memorial was

1550. then given by the king, with the advice of his council, to the said commissioners, concerning the aforesaid controversies. And there was a warrant to Sir Edmund Peckham, cofferer, to pay to Sir Richard Rede, a learned common lawyer, and a judge, forty shilling *per diem*, until his return unto the king's presence, advancing him two months beforehand; and to allow him for all such sums of money as by his bills should be signified unto him, to be laid out about sending letters to the king's majesty, or otherwise about the said affairs. The like warrant to the said Peckham was directed to pay Dr. Cook, a learned civilian, for his diet, the sum of thirty-three shillings and four-pence per day, and to advance him two months.

A proclamation for French crowns.

A proclamation came forth, dated Novemb. 27, commanding all the king's subjects, and every other person having traffic within the realm, that from the last of December next ensuing, they should not utter, or receive any crowns, commonly called *French crowns*, above the value of six shillings and four-pence of current money of England, upon pain of forfeiture of the same; whereof the one half should be to the king's majesty, and the other to the accusers: with a *proviso*, that whosoever, before the last day of December, should bring any of the French crowns into the king's mints, shall receive for every of them seven shillings, according to the value before limited.

A complaint of a Scotch ship stayed.

The princess of Scotland had sent a letter of complaint to the king in this month of November, advertising the king, that a ship called The Trinity, appointed to help some part of the train of the queen her mother in her voyage to France, was stayed in the king's port of Hull, contrary to the amity and late peace. But all this was but a glossing surmise, and perhaps this ship was no better in truth than a pirate: for to this import did the king's answer to the princess run, that there was no such ship stayed in that port of Hull; but in the port of Grimsley, in

the river of Humber, there was a Scotch ship stayed; yet none of the ships that appertained to the said train; as appeared by the deposition of the mariners, and of Davy Simner, master and owner thereof; and that it was stayed there, because it was entered without any safe conduct, or other licence, contrary to law, and the ancient customs of both realms. Where-with the king said, he nothing doubted but that she would be satisfied. 1550.

Henry, the young Earl of Southampton, being the king's godson, and now his ward, was in December committed to Sir William Herbert. His father, Sir Thomas Wriothesly, was created earl the first year of this king, and lord chancellor, a man very inward with Stephen Gardiner, late Bishop of Winchester, and much addicted to his principles, an enemy to the Duke of Somerset, and assistant to Warwick in his practices against him. Being thrown out of the court and his places, and in some apprehension of being called in question for his life, was thought to take it to heart, and retiring to his own house, died in discontent, or, as some said, by giving himself a dose. To Sir William Herbert, with his ward, was committed the keeping of the manor of Blumesbury, (where, if I mistake not, the earl had his house) and all the messuages, lands, and tenements in Milfield and Culverclose, with their appurtenances, in the county of Middlesex, and of the manor of Sutton, with the appurtenances, in the county of Somerset, to the yearly value of 200*l.*: with the wardship and marriage of the said earl, Henry, without disparagement during his minority. A warrant was also issued out, the same second of December, to the Earl of Wiltshire, master of the wards and liveries, that where the king had granted to Sir William Herbert, the wardship of Henry, Earl of Southampton, he appointed to the said Sir William an 100*l.* for the exhibition of the said earl during his minority, and that he should at several days pay one thousand pounds for the said wardship; and to appoint the said Sir

Earl of
Southamp-
ton ward to
Sir William
Herbert.

(p. 275.)

1350. William another 100*l.* of the said earl's lands: and also abate him 700*l.* part of the said thousand, in consideration that the said young earl was the king's godson, and of the good service of the said Sir William.

Debts pardoned to Thomas, Lord Howard.

Thomas, Lord Howard, the same, I suppose, that was entitled Lord Howard of Bindon, seemed to be one of the poor noblemen of this reign, however his poverty were occasioned. This man ran in arrears in the second and third payment of a subsidy granted to the king's father in the 34th of his reign; which came to the sum of 93-6-8. And besides he was indebted to King Edward 300*l.* who favourably considering his circumstances, pardoned him wholly the former sum, and threescore pounds of the latter; and took sufficient sureties for the payment of the rest in six years.

Mines of iron and steel in Devon.

This year had one Michael Winston found out divers mines of iron and steel within the king's forests of Exmore and Dartmore, in Devonshire; and also certain earth, which would make moor-coal. With the which the iron and steel might be made of the ore of the said iron and steel to be found within the said forests. Upon information hereof the king granted a commission, bearing date December 11, whereby he authorized and licenced John, Earl of Bedford, Peter Carow, and Gawen Carow, knights, Richard Duke, and the said Michael Winston, and every of them, and all others, by them, or any of them to be named, or appointed, to dig, found, win, and get by all means they could, from time to time hereafter, iron woor (ore) and steel, within his highness proper ground, within the said forests; and likewise earth to make moor-coal, without giving or paying any thing therefore. And also to erect and build in his said proper ground, such and so many houses and mills, as should be thought meet and convenient to the said Earl, Peter, Gawen, Richard and Michael, or any of them, for the making of iron and steel with the said woor and coal. And further, that they should enjoy the said

houses and mills, and other the said necessities to them, their heirs, executors and assigns for ever; with power and authority to bequeath and assign the same at their pleasure, and in such manner as by the said commissioners' order shall be appointed. So the said mills and houses, and making of the said iron and steel, may have continuance for ever: yielding to the king and his heirs, for every ton of iron there made, six shillings and eight-pence; and likewise for every ton of steel. And to the intent the said purpose should take effect, the said commissioners had authority to make orders and decrees for the establishing the continuance thereof, so they be not against the commonweal, or laws, or statutes of the realm: with a *proviso* that they shall not intermeddle with any bodies several, without their consents.

Sir Robert Southwel, knight, master of the rolls, under some eclipse, did now resign, or was deprived of his place; and the office, December 11, conferred upon John Beaumont, Esq. for life, with all fees, &c. in as large and ample manner as the said Robert lately had it.

Beaumont
made mas-
ter of the
rolls.

One Dr. Albert Knoppert, a lawyer, was now in England, lately sent from Christiern, King of Denmark, for adjusting some merchants' business, wherein he was civilly treated. He had in this month of December complained, in the name of that king's subjects, of certain customs made here about merchandize, to their great loss and damage. But the king in answer shortly declared unto Christiern, that his subjects also complained of certain customs made there to their great hinderance. This complaint the king and his council seemed to take the more offence at, because that but the month last past the king and his council had fulfilled the desire of, and given satisfaction to, the said Dr. Albert, who came to be procurator in certain causes of injury, supposed to be done to some Danish merchants: and had given him a letter of answer to carry to King Christiern, signifying the justice he had done his subjects, with a

A message
from the
Danish
king con-
cerning his
merchants.

1550. commendation of the said Albert for his diligence and wisdom used therein.

An embas-
sy to Den-
mark.

In this month of December, I find a warrant signed by the king, to deliver to Sir John Borthwick, a Scotchman, five months diet beforehand in prest after twenty-five shillings and eight-pence per day, sent about certain the king's affairs; and so hereafter to be allowed until his return to the king, *inclusive*. This seems to have been some private embassy, because no mention is made of the person, place or message. But the King's Journal discovers all; where it appears that Borthwick (who seems to have been knighted for this purpose) was sent to the King of Denmark with private instructions, for the matching of the Lady Elizabeth with his son. He had his passport to go beyond sea with one gentleman and three servants, January 2.

The king's
favour and
grace to
Exeter.

As a testimony of the king's gratitude and good will to the citizens of Exeter for their last year's good service against the rebels, (besides the thanks he had rendered them already) by a patent dated December 19, the king confirmed to the mayor and commonalty of that city, and their successors, all their old customs, liberties, privileges, franchises, and jurisdictions contained in any charters or letters patents of the king's majesty, or his progenitors; with a gift to them in fee-simple of all his manor of Exiland in Devonshire, with divers other lands, tenements, &c. to the yearly value of 29-18-10. over and above the reprises: to be holden by fealty only in sockage, with a licence to purchase 100*l.* a year in land.

Commis-
sion for
French pi-
rates.
(p. 277.)

This kingdom, upon the sea coasts towards France, and the English merchants, suffered much by French pirates still, notwithstanding the peace with France: nor could the English depend upon their friendship; therefore a special commission was given out, dated Jan. 2, to Dr. Griffith Leyson, Sir Richard Rede, and Dr. William Cook, or to two of them, to examine and determine all and singular piracies, depredations, &c. now present, or hereafter to be done between the

king's subjects and the French king's, since the last 1550.
treaty of peace between them concluded.

Sir Philip Hoby seems now to have returned home from his embassy with the emperor, where he had resided two or three years. A needy man it seems he was, whether the cause were his own prodigality, or some other misfortune. To which I attribute the counsel he suggested to the protector, mentioned before, of taking away all the prebends from the church, and bestowing them upon secular uses, and reducing the revenues of the bishops; hoping thereby that some part thereof might fall to him. His needs made him often craving supplies while he was ambassador; insomuch that, in one of his letters to the council, he told them that he had run into interest, and borrowed money upon credit, more than he could well yet a while discharge; and that if he should, through lack of payment of his diets, either run into further debt, or else be forced to lay to pledge, or sell the king's plate, that he had there, it would be little to the king's honour, and a great blot to his own honesty. He trusted, therefore, their lordships would have consideration thereof. This person owed to the king 1249-12-4 *ob.* All which the king now forgave him, perhaps in reward of the service of his embassy: acquitting and discharging him, his heirs, executors and administrators, and divers others, standing bound with him for 1100*l.* due to the king for stalment of his debts. And whereas the said Sir Philip was indebted to the king in the sum of 27-15-0, for the contribution granted the king's father, a warrant was issued to the exchequer to levy a tally, or tallies, containing the said sum, and to deliver the same to him, as of the king's gift. These favours were granted him Jan. 7. And three days after the king granted him, in fee-simple, all the manor of Norton, with Lenchwike, in the parish of Norton, with the appurtenances, in the county of Wigorn; and divers other lands, &c. to the yearly value of 47-12-11, to be holden *in capite*, by the fortieth part of one

Sir Philip
Hoby, late
ambassa-
dor, gra-
tified.

His need.

1550. knight's fee. And whereas he had obtained, of the Dean and Chapter of Worcester, the parsonage of Lenchwike and Norton (to which church it belonged) for twenty-one years; that would not serve his turn, but he procured the king's dispensatory letters to them (dated April 16) to this import, that although the statutes of their house did not permit them to extend their grants any further than for twenty-one years, he did thereby dispense with their said statutes in that behalf, and desired them to grant the same leases for threescore years.

Prepara-
tions for
Ireland.

Great fears were now, upon good intelligence conceived, concerning the realm of Ireland, lest it should be betrayed; the French practising that way. So that the king purposed to send forces speedily thither, and to put that place into a posture of defence. And for that end he wrote five letters, in the month of January, to as many persons of the chiefest eminency in that kingdom; importing, that whereas the king's majesty purposed, this spring-time, to send an army into Ireland, they should therefore put themselves and their men, as well those that were under their rule by their offices, as also their household servants and tenants, in a readiness, to such a number of horsemen and footmen, as they might conveniently: and to be in readiness against the — day of —. And likewise that they should make their repair to the king, to understand his further pleasure: and also to certify the number of the said horsemen and footmen forthwith; and how many should be demilances, and how many light horsemen. The Lord Cobham was appointed, in February, to lead the army into Ireland; and Sir Henry Palmer to be master of the ordnance.

An office
to the Earl
of Dorset.

Henry, Earl of Dorset, whose seat was in Leicestershire, had granted him, in the month of January, the office of steward of the king's honours and lordships in the said county, and of all lordships, manors, lands, &c. in the counties of Leicester, Rutland, Warwick, and Nottingham, parcel of the duchy of

Lancaster, for life: and also the office of constable of the castle of Leicester, and the office of porter of the same castle; with all profits, and a fee of five pounds a year for exercising the office of steward: and for keeping of the castle and office of porter, two pence per day.

1550.

Those that were of the king's council, and so appointed to be by his father, King Henry, in his last will, enrolled in the chancery, and the rest, whom the said king, by his said will, ordered to be assistants to the said counsellors, now thought it convenient to have their past councils and management of the publick affairs, confirmed and ratified by the present king, and to be specially commissioned by him for their future acting in the same quality, during the king's minority. And this, no doubt, for their own security, which otherwise perhaps might now, or hereafter, be called in question: and that chiefly, in these ticklish times, when there were such parties in the court. Wherefore there was a large commission drawn out for this purpose (but whether signed and sealed, I cannot tell) which may be found in the Repository, taken from the Cotton Library.

A commission for the safety of the counsellors.

P P.

Titus, B. 2.

Upon occasion of this commission, it seems, there happened great feuds at court, or else this commission occasioned by them. For in January, the court then being at Greenwich, appeared great parties and sidings: the Earl of Warwick heading one party, and the Duke of Somerset's friends on the other side: whereof the lord privy seal and the Lord Paget were two. These, and others, thought it of importance that this commission should proceed, as tending so to their own security and quiet, who were about the king; and the lord chancellor and lord treasurer did not dislike it. But the haughty designing Earl of Warwick was against it; and pretended much his care of the king's safety, which some way or other might be in great danger hereby; and therefore in this fit he wrote a severe letter to Paget, who was a great

Parties in the court.

1550. doer in this business, giving him warning how he proceeded; whose letter was as follows:

The Earl of Warwick to the Lord Paget. Titus, B. 2. (p. 279.)

“ This may be to require your lordship to be vigilant and circumspect in the matter which now you have in hand. Perhaps the lord chancellor and the lord treasurer, who thinketh me to touch them least, can be content that it may be wrapt up in silence: and to say, it is not expedient it should come in question: but God preserve our master. If he should fail, there is watchers enough that would bring it in question, and would burden you and others, who now will not understand the danger, to be deceivers of the whole body of the realm, with an instrument forged to execute your malicious meanings. Mark well the words that Baker yesterday spake in the king's presence, concerning the fault, if any were, must be imputed to the lords. Well, I would wish, as well for the surety of the king's majesty, as for the truth of the matter, that men should not be against the perfect reforming of it, now especially, seeing it hath been thus far debated: which I reckon even a happy thing. Praying you to participate this unto my lord privy seal; and so I commit you both unto the tuition of the Lord.

At Greenwich, the 22 Jan. 1550.

Your loving friend,

J. WARWYC.”

The letter is somewhat obscure, as depending upon some particular weighty matter then in agitation in the council; for the doing whereof the more securely, the aforesaid commission was thought necessary. But in it appears Warwick's displeasure against some of them, covered over with a pretended extraordinary care of the king's person.

Discord appears between Somerset and Warwick.

The feuds grew more and more visible between the parties of the Duke of Somerset and Earl of Warwick; and now it was laboured on both sides to strengthen their parties. In the next month, viz. in

February, a certain great lord in the North (whether the Earl of Shrewsbury, lord president, or some other) received a letter from another, in or about the court, giving him to understand these dissensions, and a report that went of him, that he offered himself to side with one of the parties. But he, like a wise and wary man, pretended that he would not believe, that two such great and wise men, and related together, should have misunderstandings between them; and that for his part he would mind impartially the business entrusted with him by the king, and meant not to be biassed any other way. But this lord's own words are worthy the perusing; whereby may also appear his judgment of this dissension.

“My very good lord, after my harty commendations. Having perused your gentle and most friendly letters, which I yesterday received by your trusty servant, this bearer, like as the same do fully declare your lordship's great friendship and amity to me-wards, being first by nature grounded in consanguinity and neerness of blood; even so through this your great gentleness, I am enforced presently to testify my harty good will toward your lordship again; assuring the same, that, as both by nature and your kindness I am bounden, I shall at all times be ready, in like case, to do for your lordship what in my power lieth. And where you do write, it should come to your hearing, that some person having practised with me, to feel my disposition in friendship towards the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Warwick, should speak certain words, whereby he would seem to perceive that I rather offered myself to be a party, and to set variance and disorder between my said lords, than to preserve the quietness, unity and concord, of this realm: my lord, if any person have made this report of me, he hath most untruly slandered and belied me. God defend, that I, considering the trust that it hath pleased the king's majesty to repose in me, should so long live to mind any dissension in this his highness's realm.

1550.

A letter
from a lord
out of the
North
hereupon.
Titus, B.2.

1550.
(p. 280.)

“And as concerning agreement between my said lords, albeit I have heard certain rumours in the country, that they should not be in full and perfect amity, yet did I never give credit thereto; but both thought and said, that I trusted my said lords were too wise so to do, considering the great inconvenience that might come thereof: and weighing with myself also their near alliance by marriage, I was fully persuaded the same rumors to be untrue. And surely great pity it were, and, as I think, not a little danger and disquietness to the whole realm would grow thereof, if any such thing should chance.

“Wherefore, good my lord, now that I have discoursed unto you my full mind in this behalf; I trust you will make answer to such slanderous reports, as be most untruly fained of me; like as I would do for your lordship in like case. Which you may with your honour do; for I never intended to take party with any nobleman against another, but to my power to encrease their friendships, and to serve the king's majesty, according to my duty: as knoweth the Almighty, who long preserve you, my very good lord, in health and honour. From York, the 17 Febr. 1550.”

Orders for
remedying
the dearth
in Corn-
wall.

In the West of England, and especially in Cornwall, corn, and other provisions of flesh and fish, and other necessities, grew very dear, occasioned perhaps by the late insurrections there, whereby the poorer sort suffered not a little. And this furthered, in a great measure, by the richer sort, who, by forestalling and monopolizing, and other unjust arts of those that furnished the markets, sold their corn and cattle at their own prices. Therefore special order was sent to the justices of that county, for the speedy regulation of these grievances, especially among this people, newly pacified from a rebellion. These justices were directed to learn the names of those that used to serve the markets in the several divisions, with grain, butter, cheese, and flesh; and then to inquire whether they had withdrawn of late from the markets

which they furnished. To examine which of them sold at excessive prices, contrary to a late commandment; and so to require them to appear before them at certain days, putting them under sureties for their appearance, to receive their deserts. If they should accuse others, as selling to them at excessive prices, then those to be sent for also, and put under like sureties. The grain of every parish to be surveyed by the justices, and likewise the cattle, and to be entered down in books. Victuallers to be appointed to serve the market towns; and they to be such as dwelt nigh, and to be no graziers: they to fetch cattle for the *markets from the graziers; who were to deliver them to the said victuallers, paying for the same at the king's price.* Grain to be appointed by the said surveyors, to serve the markets at reasonable prices, by them to be set. Likewise such as were accustomed to serve the markets with butter and cheese, to serve it at the king's price. Butchers having beef, muttons and other victuals at the grazier's hands, to be compelled to sell the same according to a rate set by the maiors, or chief officers of the respective towns. And such like orders were also given for selling of fish. This commission to the justices of Cornwall, and a table of the several prices prescribed for these and other things brought to market, as wines, cloth, hides, leather, &c. may be found in the MS. before mentioned, exemplified in the Repository. 1550.

Q Q.

CHAP. XXXIV.

(p. 281.)

An ambassador for France. Crofts goes to Ireland. Jersey fortified. Duke of Somerset's bare circumstances. Grants of leases and places to several courtiers. The Earl of Southampton, Denny and the Lord Wentworth die. Lady Mary comes to court. Offices granted to the Marquis of Northampton. A short Pathway, &c.

GREAT jealousies were now of the French's making disturbances both in Scotland and Ireland. A French ambassador came hither in January, in

Sir William Pickering goes into France,

1550. favour of Scotland; as, to move the English to surrender certain places to the Scots, and to confer other benefits upon that nation. Upon this the king sent Sir William Pickering, his ambassador, into France, in February, and withal sent a letter to Sir John Mason, ambassador then in France, to return home for ease of his sickness, and to communicate to Sir William Pickering, placed there in his room, the whole state of the king's affairs there: and to deliver to him all plate and other things he had delivered to him here of the king at his departure. To Sir William Pickering a letter was sent soon after to this import: "*That if Sir John Mason, for his sickness, were not able to join with him in the message he is sent about to the French king, to authorize him to proceed therein. And if he be able, and after wax so feeble by sickness that he cannot continue his service of ambassage, that then the said Sir William shall succeed him in his room by authority of the king's letters.*" Pickering came home again in March, and went again in April. And then Mason came home.

And Sir
James
Crofts into
Ireland.

And whereas the French were practising in Ireland, Sir James Crofts, a good soldier, was sent thither in February, to look after the condition of that kingdom, and especially the havens, to prevent any invasion, and to begin some good fortifications. And he arrived with some artificers at Waterford the next month, where the deputy was, having lately repaired to the south parts with his forces to watch the French. Four letters were sent at this time; one to the Earl of Desmond, and the other three to other persons of credit, for the said Sir James Crofts, Knight, sent thither to view certain ports, havens and other places, which certain the king's enemies intended to invade there, and to report the commodities that may come upon the loss thereof. And a fleet of ships was set forth for the defence of that realm, and to guard some havens on the south side toward France.

The same apprehensions had the English of the French's surprising of the Isle of Jersey. Orders were therefore taken for strengthening the castle, and other important places there. And it was thought fit the isle should bear the whole charge of its own defence, though it made a hard shift. For there was a letter sent thither to take down the bells, reserving but one in every church of the island of St. Obin's (a place in Jersey). And the half value of the same to be employed upon the fortifications of the castle there, and the other half upon the fortifications, towards the alleviating of the charges of the king's subjects there: and to arrest and tax the said subjects after the rate of their goods, towards the charges of the said fortifications: and further, to appoint unto priests that had fees and annuities given to them for term of their lives, upon certain obits and masses founded there, such pensions as should be thought good by their discretion, to be paid of the chauntry lands of that island; but these orders came not forth till the beginning of the next year.

This year the Duke of Somerset got from Barlow, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the palace of the Bishop of Bath; the said bishop alienating to him, November 9th, the scite, circuit and precinct of the said palace, and divers other lands to the yearly value of 62-0-11. And in March following he got a prebend, being the manor of Dultingcote and Chilcote in Somersetshire, from one Thyn, prebendary of Wells. Both, as it seems, in exchanges.

The duke in his late fall had been fleeced of all, not only his beneficial places and offices, but also of his lands and revenues; and was now reduced into narrow circumstances: and therefore was to make his fortunes again, as well as he could. This his condition his nephew, the king, considered, and helped him as much as he might. Which appeared, as in the respects above mentioned, so in this that followeth. The king was now soon after the 25th of

1550.
Jersey
fortified.

(p. 282.)

The Bi-
shop of
Bath's
palace
comes to
the Duke
of Somers-
set.

The duke's
narrow cir-
cumstances

1550. March to send hostages into France, consisting of persons of the best nobility, that might answer the French hostages sent hither. And among the rest the Earl of Hertford, son and heir to the duke, and the king's cousin, was one. And the king was at the charge of setting him out, which I do not find he did to any other. For to Francis Nudigate, steward to the duke, the king granted 200 mark by way of gift toward the charge of the said earl's furniture. And more, to the duke was given 246-6-3. in recompence of the charges of the board-wages of certain of the servants attending upon the earl in France. And about the same time to the duke was paid 500*l.* bequeathed him by King Henry's last will, which was paid upon account of his present need, as I must suppose, that legacy having in effect been before satisfied, when in the first year of the king the said duke had a grant of divers lands and lordships, partly in consideration of services, and partly for fulfilling the king's last will: as it ran in the Book of Sales.

Sir Andrew Dudley's office. In December, Sir Andrew Dudley, brother to the Earl of Warwick, gained the office of keeping all the jewels, of the robes and other things in the palace of Westminster; with whom was joined Arthur Sturton; which place was granted to them for life, and the longest liver, with the fee of 100 mark.

Leases to secretary Cecyl. Mr. Cecyl, secretary about this time had the rectory of Wimbleton, in reversion granted him for threescore years, according to a letter sent by the king, dated in January, to the dean and chapter of Worcester, to whom the said rectory belonged: Sir Robert Tirwhit, Knight, being at present in possession by an old lease, and Cecyl having Sir Robert's interest in the same.

(p. 283.) Honnings gets a prebend of Sarum. William Honnings, Esq. now or late a clerk of the council, got a prebend from the church of Salisbury: for Guido Cavalcant, a stranger, incumbent of the prebend of Cheping Farington, in the county of Berks, belonging to the said church, being requested

to give and surrender his interest and estate of the possession of the said prebend, and being contented thereto, the king this February wrote to the Bishop, Dean and Chapter of Salisbury, that they also would agree hereunto, in such sort as the same might take effect towards him in fee-simple. 1550.

The king's justice appeared in an act of his, that happened about this time. The wardens and scholars and clerks of the college of St. Mary's *prope* Winton, alias St. Mary's College of Winchester, had heretofore sold to King Henry certain lands, and paid 671-14-2. besides, to his treasurer; for the which the manor of *Endeford*, in *Wilts*, with other lands, were granted to them: which manor and lands were in remainder to one Thomas Culpeper, and his heirs male of his body begotten; and who had lawfully entered: so their purchase was lost and gone. The king therefore, in satisfaction, now this February, granted them the manor of *Aysshe*, in *Surrey*, with divers other lands, to the yearly value of 77-16-9. A grant to Winchester College.

To gratify George Broke, Lord Cobham, a great soldier, who had done the king good service abroad, and was now going with an army into Ireland, the king gave him in fee-simple the lordship and manor of Great Hoo and Little Hoo, and the hundred of Hoo, with divers other lands, tenements, &c. to the yearly value of 108-3-5. several rents reserved and deducted: to hold by the fortieth part of one knight's fee. Some of these lands lay in Rochester and Wrotham. To which was added the rectory of Earith. A gift to Lord Cobham.

The Earl of Southampton, August 4, was honourably buried in the church of St. Andrew, Holborn; and Sir John Hoper, priest, preached at his funerals. The Earl of Southampton buried. And September 1, his lady and widow was buried at Farnham; who had sometime been the wife of Sir William Fitz-Williams, Lord Privy Seal to King Henry VIII.

Sir Anthony Denny, a learned and wise man, bred in St. John's College, Cambridge, an ancient favourer of the gospel, and professor of it, one of the chief Sir Anthony Denny dies.

1550. Gentlemen of King Henry's Bedchamber, and of this king's, died about the latter end of this year. His seat was at Waltham Abbey, in Essex, where I think he lies buried. He left Dame Johan Denny, his widow, executrix of his last will and testament. A declaration by her made, as well concerning stuff received by the said Sir Anthony belonging to the king, as also for disbursing and delivery thereof, was taken February 12.

Lord
Went-
worth dies.

As Denny finished his course, so the Lord Wentworth accompanied him; who, being lord chamberlain of the king's household, was honourably buried, March 7, in Westminster Abbey, in the chapel where the old abbot was interred, two of the kings of arms and two of the chief heralds attending, and Coverdale preached.

Lady Mary
comes to
London;

March 15, The Lady Mary rode through London unto St. John's, her place, with fifty knights and gentlemen, in velvet coats and chains of gold, afore her; and after her, fourscore gentlemen and ladies; and every one having a pair of beads of black, to make an open profession, no doubt, of their devotion for the mass, which she lately had been required to lay aside, as we shall read hereafter. In this equipage she rode

(p. 284.)

through Cheapside and Smithfield. Two days after, she rode from St. John's to the court, through Fleetstreet, with many noblemen, knights, gentlemen, ladies, and gentlewomen; and at court she alighted, and Mr. Wyngfield, comptroller of the king's house, and many lords and knights, brought her through the hall unto the chamber of presence: and there she tarried two hours, being treated at a goodly banquet. What her business now at the court was, we shall soon see. Afterwards she took horse and rode back to St. John's, and lay there all night, and on the morrow she rode to her house, called Newhal, in Essex, where she remained for some time.

And the
court.

An office
to the
Marquis of
Northamp-
ton.

As the Marquis of Northampton, in October last, obtained the keeping of Windsor, now, March 20, the king gave him the office of keeping the chief

messuage of the manor of Esscher, and the office of keeping the garden and the orchards there, and the bailiff of the said manor; and the keeping of the park, and the lieutenantship of the chase of Hampton Court, and the keeping of the chase, with three men to attend thereupon, for life, with fee. 1550.

Let me add only the mention of a book, that came forth this year, imprinted at Worcester, by John Owen, the 24th of May, having this title: "A short Pathway to the right and true Understanding of the Holy Scripture. Set forth by that most famous Clerk, Hulderick Zuinglius; and translated out of Latin into English by John Verou Senonois." This man was a foreigner, but an eminent minister and preacher in London, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth. A short Pathway, &c.

He dedicated this his translated book to Sir Arthur Darcie, Knight; thus beginning his address (whence we may collect the good progress of religion at this time, and the backwardness of a great part of the people yet to entertain it): "Many at this present, Right Worshipful Sir, that the gospel is so pregnantly, so sincerely, and purely preached, by innumerable learned godly men, whom God doth stir up and excitate daily in this flourishing realm and commonwealth, do greatly mervail and wonder, that yet the greatest part of the people doth frowardly draw back, nor will submit themselves to the sweet and pleasant yoke of the gospel; having lyeffer to abide still in the thick darkness of ignorance, and stinking puddle of men's traditions, than to come to the shining and most clear light of the everlasting truth and verity; which, if they would weigh, ponder, and examine, and consider the matter more earnestly, and with greater diligence search the scripture, they should undoubtedly find, perceive, and understand, that this blindness and error doth remain yet in so many thousands, because that God hath not yet drawn them, without whose Spirit man's industry

1550. can profit nothing, though he teacheth and writeth never so much, &c.

"I do most humbly dedicate, offer, and nuncupate, unto your Right Worshipful Mastership, as unto him who is, and hath been, always most desirous to promote, set forth, and enlarge, the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ."

And here we end the First Book, having taken a view of the best part of this king's reign. Hereafter the factions at court more encreased, and proved fatal to some of them; as shall be seen.

END OF VOL. II.

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